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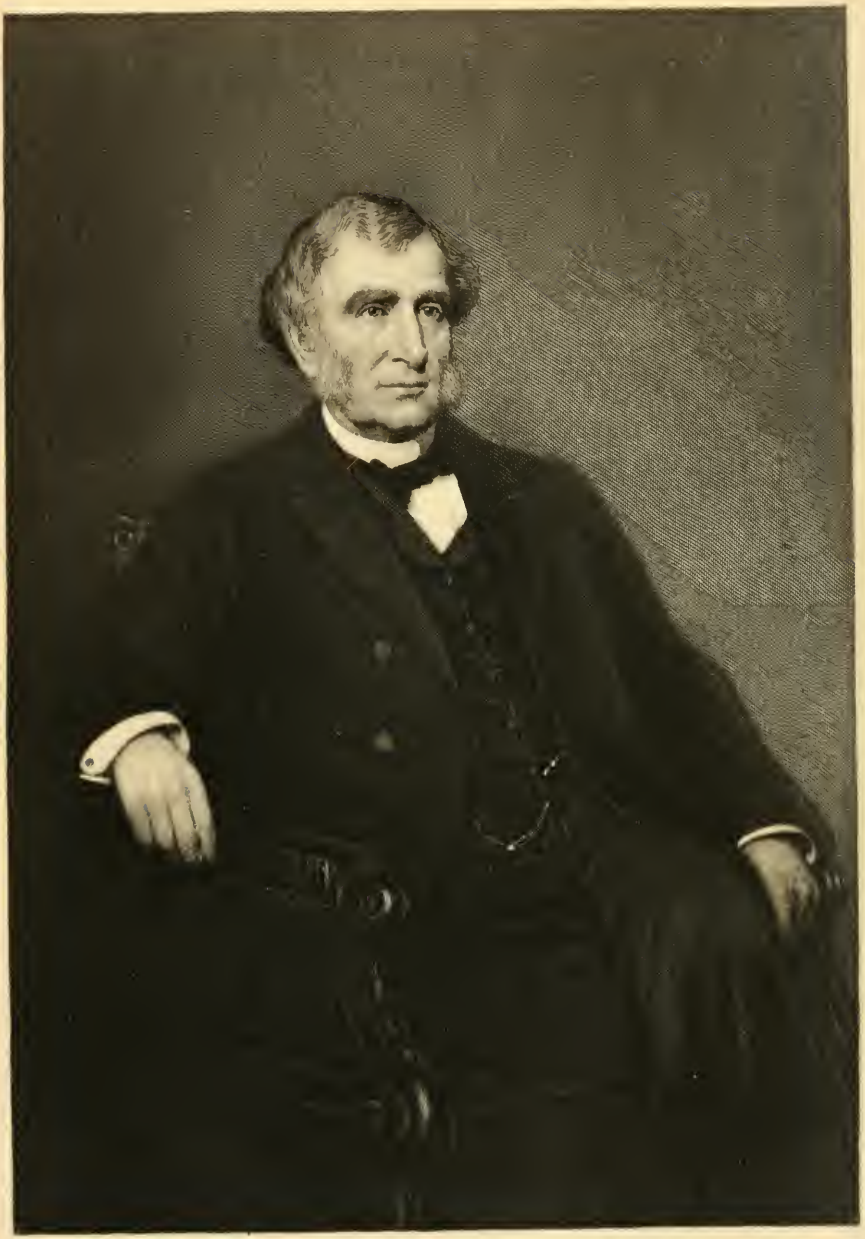

Justin S. Morrill

JUSTIN S. MORRILL

JUSTIN S. MORRILL

Born in Strafford, April 14, 1810. He became a prosperous merchant in his native town and in 1854 was elected to Congress. He was appointed a member of the Ways and Means Committee and later became its chairman. He had charge of the tariff bill which bore his name and which furnished revenue for the Government during the Civil War. He introduced a land grant college bill providing for the establishment of colleges which should furnish instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts. President Buchanan vetoed the measure, but it was passed again and signed by President Lincoln. The act is one of the landmarks in the history of education in America. In 1866 he was transferred to the Senate where he was for many years chairman of the Finance Committee.

No public man has been more active than he in the erection and improvement of the great public buildings at the national capital. He died December 28, 1898, aged eighty-eight years, having served in the House and Senate more than forty-three years, the longest period of continuous service in Congress in American history.

VERMONT
The Green Mountain State

BY

WALTER HILL CROCKETT

AUTHOR OF

VERMONT—ITS RESOURCES AND OPPORTUNITIES
HISTORY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN
GEORGE FRANKLIN EDMUNDS

VOLUME THREE

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To the Memory of
George Grenville Benedict
and
Horace Ward Bailey

Who encouraged and aided the author
in his study of Vermont history,
these volumes are dedicated.

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AS President Jefferson's administration drew toward its close, Great Britain's attitude toward the United States became increasingly arrogant and hostile. The war between France and England had interfered seriously with American commerce. The British had seized and searched American ships and impressed American seamen. In April, 1806, a non-importation act was passed by the American Congress at the President's suggestion which harmed Great Britain very little and America very much. The attack of the British cruiser *Leopard* upon the American frigate *Chesapeake,* off Hampton Roads, in June, 1807, when the latter ship was fired upon, searched and several men taken from her as deserters, infuriated the greater part of the American people. War seemed almost inevitable; and the people of Vermont knew that for them such a policy would be no holiday affair, because if war was declared, Canada was the natural military base for British armies, and the ancient highway from the Dominion to the United States was by way of Lake Champlain.

The temper of the people of Vermont in this crisis is shown in an address to President Jefferson, adopted in the Assembly by a vote of 169 to 1, and concurred in by the Council, which contained the following stirring declaration:

"We, the Governor, Council and House of Representatives of the State of Vermont, viewing with indignation and abhorrence the violent and unjustifiable conduct of the cruisers of His Britannic Majesty, in the impressment and murder of American citizens, and the plunder

of their property upon the high seas, and even in the very entrance of our harbors, and more especially in the late hostile attack, made with circumstances of unparalleled malignity upon the American national frigate *Chesapeake* by the British ship of war *Leopard,*

"Do Resolve, That, at this awful crisis, when our national honor and independence are insulted by a nation with whom we, forgetful of former injuries, have not only endeavored to cultivate harmony by preserving a strict and perfect neutrality, but, to conciliate their friendship by every act of benevolence, humanity and assistance compatible with the justice due to ourselves and others, it is the duty of every American to rally around the constituted authorities of his country, and to support them with his life and fortune in resisting any encroachments on our national and individual rights by any foreign power whatever, and in procuring redress for the many injuries we have sustained, and which our patient and friendly forbearance has suffered too long; injuries committed in a manner unusually barbarous and calculated to fix an indelible disgrace upon the British character.

"And it is further Resolved, That we do accord our warmest admiration to the measures adopted by the President of the United States on this occasion, and that we have the most perfect confidence in his wisdom, integrity, and ability, so to direct the energies of the Government as to preserve our honor as a nation free from taint or reproach, and our liberties as individuals secure from violation.

"And we do further for ourselves and our constituents declare that, fearless of the dangers to (which) we may be exposed as a frontier State, we shall be ever ready to obey the call of our common country, whenever it shall be necessary, either for the purpose of redress or vengeance.

"And Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolution be made and immediately transmitted to the President of the United States."

The President's reply was prompt, being written on December 1, but its tone was cautious, and somewhat perfunctory, reflecting his well known reluctance to adopt aggressive measures that might lead to war. He declared that the sentiments of the Vermont Legislature "are worthy of their known patriotism; and their readiness to rally round the constituted authorities of their country, and to support its rights with their lives and fortunes is the more honorable to them as exposed by their position in front of the contest."

The Embargo Act became a law on December 22, 1807, two Vermont Congressmen, Fisk and Witherell, voting for the bill, and two, Chittenden and Elliot, against it. Matthew Lyon, formerly of Vermont, but now a Kentucky Congressman, was recorded against the measure. Under the terms of the act American ships were not permitted to leave the ports of the United States for those of any other nation. Ships of other nations might not enter American ports with cargoes to be discharged. All foreign commerce was suddenly stopped. Ships engaged in the coasting trade must give

bonds that their cargoes would be landed at American and not at foreign ports.

The Embargo Act was President Jefferson's method of retaliation against Great Britain, hoping in this manner to punish that nation by cutting off her valuable foreign trade with the United States. He was determined that there should be no war, and the policy of his administration reflected his personal views. Woodrow Wilson in his "History of the American People," says: "Mr. Jefferson had brought a party to power which had dismantled the navy which the Federalists had begun. The few ships that remained were tied up at the docks, out of repair, out of commission, or lacking crews and equipment." The United States, therefore, was ill prepared to fight the navy of Great Britain. So strong was the President's hold upon Congress, however, that the Embargo Act was passed, because he favored its passage.

The act aroused intense opposition, hostility being exceedingly bitter in New England, noted for its commerce, this region being paralyzed by the Embargo law. Almost immediately smuggling began, and the Vermont border being close to the larger Canadian towns, was a natural base of operation for illicit traffic.

The effect of the embargo has been described by Woodrow Wilson as follows: "The States themselves suffered from the act more than the nations whose trade they struck at. America's own trade was ruined. Ships rotted at the wharves,—the ships which had but yesterday carried the commerce of the world. The quays were deserted. Nothing would sell any more at

its old price. * * * It was mere bankruptcy for the whole country. No vigilance or compulsion could really enforce the act, it is true. Smuggling took the place of legitimate trade where it could."

Various supplementary laws followed the Embargo Act, in January, March and April, 1808. The second of these, known as "the Land Embargo," passed on March 12, went into effect shortly before navigation might be expected to open on Lake Champlain. The people of northern and northeastern Vermont had been accustomed to find a market for timber and pot and pearl ashes in Canada, and the act suspending commercial relations caused much distress. Customs officials were not particularly zealous in enforcing the law and juries were reluctant to convict violations of the Embargo Act. On April 1, 1808, the Collector of Customs, Jabez Penniman, notified Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin that it was impossible to enforce the law without military aid. The President consulted with Senator Robinson and Congressman Witherell of Vermont, who informed him that the trouble would be over early in May, when, as a result of the lowering of the Richelieu River, after the high water of spring had subsided, the Chambly Rapids no longer would be passable for rafts carrying smuggled timber and other products. Jefferson therefore directed Gallatin to instruct Collector Penniman to equip and arm such vessels as might be necessary, and to engage crews for the same, "voluntarily, by force of arms, or otherwise, to enforce the law." If further assistance should be needed, the Secretary of State was directed to authorize the United States Mar-

shal to raise a posse "to aid in suppressing the insurrection or combination." If the posse should prove insufficient the Secretary of War was ordered to call on the militia for aid, and was requested to repair to the place "and lend the aid of his counsel and authority." A proclamation was furnished, to be issued if necessary, and the President informed Secretary Gallatin that it had been determined to build two gunboats at Skenesborough (Whitehall), N. Y.

A Presidential proclamation was published in Spooner's *Vermont Journal,* May 9, 1808, declaring that information had been received "that sundry persons are combined or combining and confederating together on Lake Champlain and the country thereto adjacent, for the purposes of forming insurrections against the authority of the laws of the United States, for opposing the same and obstructing their execution. The President therefore warned any persons directly or indirectly concerned "in any insurrection," and commanded "such insurgents, and all concerned in such combinations, instantly and without delay to disperse themselves and retire peaceably to their respective abodes." Smuggling there was in abundance, but there is no evidence that there was either insurrection or combination against the Government. In June, 1808, a town meeting held in St. Albans "positively and unequivocally" declared that in the opinion of the citizens of that town the conduct of the citizens of the district had furnished no cause for President Jefferson's proclamation, and asserted "that the same must have been issued in consequence of erroneous and unfounded representations, made and

transmitted to the Executive department of the United States by some evil-minded person or persons." It was declared that if individuals "finding themselves and their families on the verge of ruin and wretchedness," had attempted successfully to evade the restrictions of the embargo, this did not justify proclaiming to the world that insurrection and rebellion prevailed in the district.

There was much smuggling in the vicinity of Alburg. Its location, a peninsula, extending from the mainland of Canada into Lake Champlain, afforded unusual facilities for such operations. Dress goods often were deposited near the line, carried by men on their backs through the woods and secreted until they could be transported by teams or boats to their destination. It is said that merchants in Troy and Albany hired men to bring foreign goods into the country in this way. On one occasion a customs officer, who had leaped on board a smuggling craft, was carried across the boundary line, put overboard and left where the water was chin deep.

Canadian acquaintances and friends would cross the line and leave sums of money. Soon horses, or cattle, or swine were missing, and their absence caused no excitement or surprise. Another device, recorded by McMaster in his "History of the People of the United States," was to load a dozen wagons or sleds with Vermont produce, drive to a point on the international boundary line where a hill sloped abruptly toward the north, and build a rude hut into which barrels of flour or pork, and other commodities would be placed. The hut was erected in such a way that when a stone was removed from the foundation, the sides of the hut would

collapse, the floor would give way, and the contents would roll down the slope into Canada, where the arrival of produce in this unusual manner caused no great astonishment.

A report printed in a New York newspaper in May, 1808, described immense rafts of lumber that were being collected on Lake Champlain near the boundary line. One was said to be nearly half a mile long, carried a ball-proof fort, and was supposed to carry a cargo of wheat, potash, pork and beef, valued at three hundred thousand dollars or upward, being the surplus produce for a year. Moreover, this great raft was said to be manned by five hundred or six hundred armed men, prepared to defy the customs officials. This report not only was untrue, but was absurdly untrue. Nevertheless, the fact that smuggling was carried on extensively was not difficult to prove. In November, 1808, Senator Hillhouse of Connecticut asserted in debate that "patriotism, cannon, militia and all" had not stopped smuggling. Field pieces might have stopped it on the lakes, but the inhabitants along the border, he said, "were absolutely cutting new roads to carry it on by land."

Governor Smith, on May 5, 1808, ordered Gen. Levi House to call out a small detachment of the first regiment of his Franklin county brigade, which was stationed at Windmill Point, in Alburg. Its task was to prevent the passage of rafts, but with strong and favorable winds, and under cover of darkness, the rafts managed to elude the militia. A question being raised relative to the efficiency of the Franklin county troops, all but seventy-five were discharged, and they were re-

placed by one hundred and fifty Rutland county soldiers. Later they were reinforced by a detachment of United States artillery. The Franklin county militia were highly indignant, and at a general convention of the commissioned officers of the brigade, held June 17, 1808, their discharge and the substitution of the Rutland county militia was declared to be an "open, direct and most degrading insult." A few weeks later citizens of Franklin county signed a public address, justifying the action of the President and Collector Penniman. It was asserted that the lumber and potash merchants had declared their intention to carry on their trade by armed force, and threatened to kill the Collector if he attempted to enforce the laws, hinting at an uprising if the troops should kill any person in the process of law enforcement. At this time there seems to have been much partisanship in the various charges and counter charges. The smugglers were resourceful and daring in their exploits and did not hesitate to employ force. The smuggling of cattle and other Vermont products into Canada had become general, and British manufactured products were brought out in exchange.

A militia force, commanded by Maj. Charles K. Williams, afterward Judge of the Supreme Court and Governor, was stationed at Windmill Point, on the western shore of Alburg. A twelve-oared cutter named *The Fly,* used by customs officials near the outlet of the lake, was of material assistance in checking smuggling operations. The exploits of a smuggling craft known as *The Black Snake* made that boat the most widely known of any of its kind on Lake Champlain. Built originally as a ferry

boat, to ply between Charlotte and Essex, N. Y., it was 40 feet long, 17 feet wide, and equipped with seven oars on a side, and a sail. The boat never was painted, but was smeared with tar, making it black. It had a capacity of one hundred barrels of ashes, and as freight charges of five or six dollars a barrel could be obtained, its operation was profitable. It was manned by a crew of powerful men who had the reputation of being desperate characters, and they were well armed. For months *The Black Snake* defied the customs officials, and transported many cargoes of pot ashes across the Canadian border. Large quantities were taken from St. Albans Bay, thence by various creeks and obscure inlets to Missisquoi Bay, across Cook's Bay and into Canada about one mile north of Alburg Springs.

The Government officials were determined to capture the craft, and on August 1, 1808, Lieut. Daniel Farrington of Brandon, Sergt. David D. Johnson and twelve infantry privates were detailed to *The Fly* with orders to pursue *The Black Snake*. The smugglers remained in seclusion on the North Hero shore during the day and at night proceeded to the mouth of the Winooski River, entering apparently for a cargo. The boat was armed with spike poles to keep off revenue boats, large clubs, a basket of stones, and a wall piece, or blunderbuss, a gun eight feet, two inches long, with a bore of one and one-fourth inches, carrying fifteen bullets. Each member of the crew was armed with a gun. Owing to rumors of pursuit the crew of *The Black Snake* worked all night August 2-3, running bullets, as the supply of ammunition was low.

On Wednesday morning, August 3, the revenue officers found the craft about three miles up the river, made fast to the shore. Capt. Truman Mudgett of Highgate warned the officers not to touch the boat, but Lieutenant Farrington and others went on board and attempted to take possession. Capt. Jonathan Ormsby of Burlington had joined the Government officials. In the contest that followed Captain Ormsby and two soldiers, Ellis Drake of Clarendon and Asa Marsh of Rutland, were killed, and Lieutenant Farrington was severely wounded. Sergeant Johnson and a detachment of soldiers made a dash and captured all but two of the smugglers. The men who escaped were arrested later and all were lodged in jail at Burlington.

A public funeral was held at Burlington on Thursday, August 4. The bodies were escorted to the court house by a militia company and a sermon was preached by Rev. Samuel Williams. This affair, known thereafter as "The Black Snake Episode," caused great excitement. The State election was near at hand and the Federalists were charged with attempting to shield the murderers. Flaming handbills were circulated adorned with pictures of three coffins.

On August 23, less than three weeks after the crime was committed, the Supreme Court convened at Burlington in special session. Chief Judge Royall Tyler presided and with him sat Judges Theophilus Harrington and Jonas Galusha. C. P. Van Ness, afterward Governor, was one of the prosecuting attorneys. On August 26 the grand jury returned true bills against Samuel I. Mott of Alburg, William Noaks, Slocum

Clark and Truman Mudgett of Highgate, Cyrus B. Dean and Josiah Pease of Swanton, David Sheffield of Colchester and Francis Ledgard of Milton. Justice was speedy, and on August 29 Mott was found guilty of murder. On September 5 Dean was found guilty and the same verdict was returned against Sheffield on September 9. Dean was sentenced to be hanged on October 28, but the Legislature granted him a reprieve of two weeks. On November 11 he was taken to the court house, where he listened to a sermon by Rev. Truman Barney of Charlotte, after which he was executed in the presence of an assemblage estimated at ten thousand persons. This is said to have been the first instance of capital punishment in Vermont.

Mott and Sheffield were granted new trials. At the June term in 1809 they were convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to stand one hour in the pillory, to receive fifty lashes each on the bare back, and to serve ten years in the State Prison. Ledgard was found guilty of manslaughter and was given the same sentence imposed upon Mott and Sheffield, with the exception of the flogging. These three men were received at Windsor the second day after the prison was opened. Ledgard was pardoned in 1811, Sheffield in 1815, and Mott in 1817. At the June term of court in 1809, Mudgett was tried, but the jury disagreed and the next year the case was discontinued.

These cases were among the most famous in the history of early Vermont jurisprudence, and the trials were held in a time of bitter political strife, when the hardships of the embargo bore heavily upon nearly all classes

of people, and smuggling was looked upon with tolerance by a large number of respectable citizens. During the term of court when these cases were tried, the grand jury published an address in which, alluding to *The Black Snake* affair, satisfaction was expressed that strangers from without Chittenden county were the principal actors. "The loyalty and patience of our fellow citizens" was viewed with admiration; and it was declared that "the charges of insurrection and rebellion lately exhibited against them are vile aspersions against the honor and dignity of the county." All of which shows that the spirit of partisanship was not always banished from court affairs.

At a special session of the United States Circuit Court, held at Burlington in November, 1808, Judges Brockholst Livingston and Elijah Paine presiding, Frederick, Job, and John Hoxie were tried for high treason, being charged with levying war against the United States, but were acquitted.

The principal candidates of the Republican party for the Presidential nomination in 1808 were James Madison, Secretary of State, and James Monroe, Minister to Great Britain, both Virginians. Jefferson favored Madison as his successor. Upon request of many of the Republican members of Congress, Senator Stephen R. Bradley of Vermont, on January 20, 1808, issued a printed circular inviting members of that party in Congress to assemble in the Senate chamber the evening of January 22, for a consultation concerning the forthcoming Presidential election. The authority of the Vermont Senator to call such a caucus was disputed by

Monroe's supporters, and only Madison's friends and those who were not committed to any candidate attended. Senator Bradley was elected president of the caucus and Richard M. Johnson was chosen secretary. A ballot for Presidential candidates resulted as follows: James Madison, 83; George Clinton, 3; James Monroe, 3. For Vice Presidential candidates the following votes were cast: George Clinton, 79; John Langdon, 5; Henry Dearborn, 3; John Quincy Adams, 1. A committee of correspondence and arrangements included Senator Bradley as a member. About sixty Republican members did not attend the caucus. John Randolph and a group of his friends published a protest against the caucus and the candidate.

Senator Bradley was elected President Pro Tem of the Senate on December 28, 1808. He was a man of independent views, and letters to his son show that he was strongly opposed to the Embargo policy of President Jefferson. The State election of 1808 was hotly contested. The Embargo Act and certain military orders were a heavy load for the administration to carry and there was considerable dissatisfaction concerning expenditures for the State Prison. As early as June, Secretary Gallatin wrote, "I think that Vermont is lost." Gov. Israel Smith was renominated and Ex-Governor Tichenor was the candidate of the Federalists, who had a thorough organization. The Republicans, or Jeffersonian Democrats, a name which began to be used about this time, issued an address defending the President's policy of non-intercourse and endorsed the party candidates. Isaac Tichenor was elected by 432 majority.

The majorities for Tichenor were large in Franklin and Chittenden counties, where there was much dissatisfaction with the Embargo Act.

The Federalists also elected ten of twelve members of the Council, while the Republicans reelected Lieut. Gov. Paul Brigham and secured a majority of seventeen in the Assembly. This enabled them by a narrow margin to choose Madison electors, as follows: Gov. Israel Smith of Rutland, Samuel Shepardson of Guilford, Jonas Galusha of Shaftsbury, James Tarbox of Randolph, John White of Georgia and William Cahoon of Lyndon. Vermont's electoral vote was cast for James Madison for President and Gov. John Langdon of New Hampshire for Vice President. Possibly the refusal to vote for George Clinton of New York, the party candidate, may have been due to Clinton's old-time hostility to Vermont previous to its admission to the Union. Dr. Samuel Shaw (Rep.) was elected a Congressman in the Southwestern district and Martin Chittenden (Fed.) was reelected. There was no choice in the Southeastern district, where the Republican vote was divided. At a special election Jonathan H. Hubbard (Fed.) was elected by fifteen majority, defeating William C. Bradley, then only twenty-six years old, and a son of Senator Stephen Row Bradley. In the Northeastern district, and at a special election, Congressman James Fisk was defeated by William Chamberlain (Fed.), who had served a term in Congress (1803-1805).

Samuel Shaw was born at Dighton, Mass., in December, 1768, and came to Putney, Vt., in 1778, removing to Castleton in 1787. He studied medicine and began

the practice of his profession at the age of nineteen, becoming an eminent surgeon. He was active in his denunciation of the Adams administration for the adoption of the Sedition Act. An old record says that for this denunciation "he was imprisoned and liberated by the people without the forms of law." From 1800 to 1807 he represented Castleton in the Legislature and in 1807 he was elected a member of the Council, holding that office one year. He served in Congress until 1813. After his retirement from that body he was appointed a Surgeon in the United States army, remaining in the service until 1816. He died at Clarendon, Vt., in 1827.

Jonathan H. Hubbard was born in Windsor in 1768, being the first official holding one of the higher State offices, who was a native of Vermont. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1790, and practiced his profession until he was elected to Congress, where he served one term. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court from 1813 to 1815. He died at Windsor, September 20, 1849. In 1808 Jonathan Robinson was reelected United States Senator for the full term of six years, although Daniel Chipman of Middlebury received a majority of the votes of the Council. There was great Federalist rejoicing over the election of Governor Tichenor.

In 1808 the Legislature met at Montpelier, and for the first time in its history the State Government had a permanent location. There was a large gathering of people to witness the opening of the legislative session and the civil and military ceremonies, which were a feature of such occasions. There was so much objection to the presence of a company of United States soldiers

in the State House, necessitating the exclusion of the freemen of the commonwealth, particularly some who had contributed to the erection of the edifice, that the troops were ordered to withdraw.

A military organization had been formed at Montpelier known as the Washington Artillery, which escorted the Governor to town, at the opening of the legislative session, and fired salutes when the Sheriff proclaimed from the portico of the State House the election of State officials. It was also the duty of the Sheriff, bearing a sword, to escort the Governor every day from his boarding house to the Council Chamber.

In his inaugural address Governor Tichenor, while deploring the violation of the Embargo Act, declared that "we sincerely regret that the law was not accompanied with that evidence of national necessity or utility which at once would have commanded obedience and respect." He hoped for an early repeal of the law, but if this course should not be followed be urged "a quiet submission to the privations and inconveniences that may be experienced until we are relieved in a constitutional way."

The Republicans had a majority of sixteen in the General Assembly, and the reply to the Governor's speech was framed by his political opponents. While it recognized the privations resulting from the Embargo Act, it expressed "a dignified pleasure that this (was) the only practicable measure that could have averted the dangers and horrors of war with one or more of the contending nations of Europe." Eighty-eight Federal-

ists, headed by Nathaniel Chipman, dissented from the answer preferred by the majority of the House.

Dudley Chase of Randolph was elected Speaker. Several manufacturing companies were incorporated and others were exempted from taxation. The grant of the township of Wheelock to the trustees of Dartmouth College and the president of Moor's Charity School was confirmed, and an act directing a suit to test the validity of the charter of Wheelock, was repealed.

A proposal emanating from the Virginia Legislature, permitting the removal of United States Senators from office by the vote of a majority of the whole number of the members of the respective State Legislatures, by which they had been or might be elected, was rejected.

A resolution was adopted requesting the Congressional delegation of the State to apply to the Secretary of War for the loan of twenty pieces of artillery for the use of the militia of Vermont. Another resolution adopted during the session of 1808 requested the Governor to appeal to the Governor of Lower Canada to obtain legislative aid in dispersing or punishing a band of counterfeiters which infested the southern part of the province of Quebec and preyed upon the people of Vermont and other border States.

Early in the year 1808 the Supreme Court convicted four persons of the crime of counterfeiting. Two of these men were sentenced each to stand in the pillory one hour, to receive thirty-nine stripes upon the bare back, to be imprisoned for seven years at hard labor and to pay a fine of five hundred dollars and costs. The others were given less drastic punishment, but each re-

ceived "forty stripes save one." Statistics from six Vermont counties show that in 1808 there were sixty-one indictments for counterfeiting or passing counterfeit money. During the summer of 1809 Governor Tichenor sent a letter to Sir James H. Craig, Governor General of Canada, by Capt. Josiah Dunham of Windsor, editor of *The Washingtonian,* and a zealous Federalist. In his letter the Vermont Executive called attention to "the alarming height to which the evil complained of has arisen." Governor Craig replied in a cordial and sympathetic note in which he explained that new and more effectual laws were needed to root out the evil of counterfeiting. The Republicans charged that Captain Dunham's mission was political and in defending himself he published the correspondence in his newspaper, asserting that his errand was successful in obtaining from the provincial Parliament the legislation desired.

At a town meeting held in St. Albans, on February 6, 1809, resolutions were adopted strongly condemning the foreign policy of the Jefferson administration. Other town meetings were held, some of which condemned, while others approved, the administration. Political prejudices were strong and epithets often took the place of arguments. In January Governor Tichenor visited the northern part of the State, probably to investigate smuggling on the border, and his opponents charged him with playing politics.

Early in 1809, Governor Craig of Canada sent John Henry into New England on a tour of investigation. Henry was a native of Ireland, who had become a naturalized American citizen. He had lived on a farm

in Vermont, had studied law, and in 1808 had edited the *Post Boy* at Windsor, being a violent opponent of President Jefferson. Late in the year 1808 he went to Canada. On January 26, 1809, Sir James Craig's Secretary wrote Henry a letter marked "most secret and confidential," suggesting his employment on a confidential mission to Boston. The letter indicates that Henry already had furnished information and political observations, which had been transmitted by the Governor General to the British Secretary of State. Henry accepted this offer, and his relations with the Federalists had been such that he could readily get in touch with those who were opposed to a declaration of war against Great Britain. In his instructions Governor Craig asked his agent to secure accurate information concerning the true state of affairs in New England. He hinted at the possibility of a separation of the Eastern States from the Union if present difficulties continued; and he desired particularly to know "how far in such an event they would look up to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connection with us." With great caution, he was to insinuate, where intimacy made it advisable, that if communication were desired with the Governor General he was authorized to receive messages. His stay in Vermont was expected to be short, but he was instructed to procure all the information he could obtain. Credentials were given to Henry to use in the event that they were needed, and a cipher was furnished for correspondence.

Henry stopped at Burlington for two days and on February 14 sent a letter to Sir James Craig from that

place. He found only one opinion regarding the Embargo laws, that they were "unnecessary, oppressive and unconstitutional." Governor Tichenor was in the northern part of the State at this time and Henry reported that he had learned that the Governor of Vermont might refuse obedience to any command from the National Government that would tend to interrupt the good understanding that existed between Vermonters and Canadians; and that in case of war he would use his influence to make the State neutral, and resist with all the force he could command, any attempt to involve this commonwealth in the conflict. "I need not add," he wrote, "that if these resolutions are carried into effect, the State of Vermont may be considered as an ally of Great Britain."

There is no evidence to justify Henry's statement. Governor Tichenor was a strong Federalist and as such was opposed to the Embargo Act and to the general policy of the administration, but he was not disloyal. Josiah Dunham, a political associate, in a public statement certified "that so far from having ever heard Governor Tichenor advance any sentiments favorable to a dissolution of the Union, I have heard him declare with some warmth that the man who should seriously advocate such a doctrine, of whatever party he might be, must be an enemy to his country." This declaration is in line with Governor Tichenor's public addresses. The Federalist party, by its course, justified serious criticism before and during the second war with Great Britain, but Governor Tichenor was not the type of man pictured in John Henry's report.

In a letter written from Windsor, February 19, Henry reported after consulting Republicans as well as Federalists: "The people in the eastern section of Vermont are not operated upon by the same hopes and fears as those on the borders of the British colony. They are not dependent on Montreal for the sale of their produce, nor the supply of foreign commodities. They are not apprehensive of any serious dangers or inconvenience from a state of war; and, although they admit that the Governor, Council and three-fourths of the representation in Congress are of the Federal party, yet they do not believe that the State would stand alone and resist the National Government." Henry failed to receive any reward from Great Britain for his services, and, smarting under what he considered an act of injustice, he revealed the correspondence to President Madison, receiving for his information the sum of fifty thousand dollars.

When President Madison laid the John Henry correspondence before Congress, Mr. Fisk of Vermont participated in the debate that followed. Alluding to the possibility of a division of the Union he said: "I am very far from believing it was ever a wish of a great body of the Federal party, or that they would knowingly join the enemies of their country, to effect such a purpose, but that there are some who call themselves Federalists, and who in principle and feeling are Englishmen that would do it, I have no doubt." In commenting on the debate in Congress, *Niles' Register* remarked that Mr. Fisk's speech had more point than all the rest.

Meetings were held in various parts of the State, some

in favor of and some opposed to the policies of the national administration. The Republicans of Bennington county, to the number of about nine hundred assembled at Manchester on March 1. Col. David Fay presided and Orsamus C. Merrill delivered an oration, approving the acts of Jefferson's administration. A report of the meeting says that "more than one hundred and fifty of the Old Whigs of the Revolution" were present. Among the resolutions adopted was one which condemned meetings held in several towns of Vermont and Massachusetts, "with an intent to overawe the constituted authorities, estrange the people of New England from the government of their choice and excite rebellion, insurrection and civil war, (which) are further evidences of British influence in our country." Another resolution declared that "we hold in utter detestation and abhorrence the men who are using their efforts to effect a separation of the States."

An issue of the *Vermont Gazette* at this time said: "The standard of rebellion has been again raised in Burlington, St. Albans and Monkton. Insurgent resolves of the most malignant nature were passed. His Excellency attended and encouraged these mobs. They are as weak as they are wicked." While these utterances should be discounted somewhat on account of the intense partisanship of the period, they are not without historical value.

The Federalists renominated Governor Tichenor in 1809. The Republicans did not again place Israel Smith in nomination, as ill health compelled him to decline the honor, and Jonas Galusha of Shaftsbury was nominated

as the strongest candidate the party could present. Galusha was elected, receiving a majority of 618. All the Republican candidates for the Council were chosen and that party elected a majority of the General Assembly.

Jonas Galusha was born in Norwich, Conn., February 11, 1753. In 1769 the family removed to Salisbury, Conn., from which town the Allens, Chittendens, Chipmans, and other prominent families emigrated to the New Hampshire Grants. In the spring of 1775 the Galushas removed to this new country, making their home at Shaftsbury. Jonas Galusha divided his time between farming and operating a shop for the manufacture of nails. When the Revolutionary War began he enlisted in a company of Col. Seth Warner's regiment, commanded by his brother David, and served in the Canadian campaign of 1775. In 1777 he commanded a company of militia and when orders came from Col. Moses Robinson to march to Bennington, he arose from bed, having been ill of a fever, to lead his men to the rendezvous. He participated in both battles at Bennington and had a narrow escape from death during the artillery fire. In October, 1778, he married Mary, daughter of Governor Chittenden. In 1781 he was elected Sheriff of Bennington county and during his incumbency of the office he dispersed a party of malcontents who had been engaged in Shays' Rebellion. In 1792 he was elected a member of the Council of Censors and the following year he was chosen a member of the Governor's Council, holding that position until 1798. In 1795 he was elected an Assistant Judge of Bennington

County Court, holding that office for several years. In 1807 he was promoted to the Supreme Court, and was reelected in 1808. He was chosen a Presidential Elector in 1808, 1820, 1824 and 1828. In 1814 he was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He was Governor of the State from 1809 to 1812 and from 1815 to 1819. He was a man of strong character and good judgment, with a gift of humor and a capacity for leadership. He was not a brilliant man, and he lacked educational opportunities, but he was neither ignorant nor lacking in good manners. In some of his characteristics he resembled his father-in-law, Governor Chittenden. Governor Galusha was one of the forceful leaders of the early period of Vermont history and nine elections to the chief magistracy of the State, the greatest number given to any executive save Thomas Chittenden and Isaac Tichenor, indicate his popularity. He died September 25, 1834.

The Legislature of 1809 organized by reelecting Dudley Chase of Randolph as Speaker. The Washington Artillery, acting as the Governor's Guard, was a feature of the inauguration. Organized from the leading citizens of Montpelier and vicinity, the members wore Bonaparte hats, and the uniform of field officers, the epaulettes being omitted from the shoulders of the privates. The Captain was Isaac Putnam, a man of commanding stature, nearly six feet, six inches in height.

In his inaugural speech Governor Galusha deplored the spirit of discord and disunion cherished by "numbers of the misguided citizens of the United States"; and he expressed the hope that "the period is not far

distant when the citizens of the Union will lay aside all party feelings and become united like a band of brothers, in support of the best government on earth." Admitting that he had been opposed to the establishment of country banks, he declared his belief that the State Bank had saved many citizens from great losses and some from total ruin, as otherwise many persons would "have been possessed of large sums of the depreciated paper of the failing private banks." The attention of the Legislature was called to the two most important interests of the State, agriculture and manufacturing.

The Legislature, on October 26, 1809, by a vote of 118 to 71, adopted an address to President Madison, expressing "peculiar gratification that a person is advanced to the Presidential chair who has long been associated with the illustrious Jefferson and his copatriots." Reference was made to "a disgraceful spirit of opposition and insubordination to the laws of the General Government (that) has been excited and fomented in some parts of the Union."

The national grievances were rehearsed in part as follows: "Our seamen, not only in the common highway of nations, but also in sight of our own shores * * * have been impressed. * * * Our territorial jurisdiction has been violated, the hospitality of our ports and harbors abused, our citizens murdered while in the peaceable pursuit of domestic concerns, our national flag insulted, (and) the blood of our seamen wantonly shed."

The address found in these injuries and aggressions certain indirect benefits, because they had awakened a

majority of the American people "to promote the establishment of domestic manufactures and other internal improvements." In summing up the situation the address says: "Surely there is a point among nations as well as individuals beyond which longer forbearance would become criminal, and honorable and manly resistance our indispensable duty; and we view the freedom of commerce upon the ocean, when pursued conformable to the established law of nations; the restoration of our impressed seamen, exemption and security against further impressment, among those rights which ought not to be surrendered but with our national existence. * * * If honorable adjustments cannot be made, however reluctant we may be to hazard our fortunes upon the warring elements, yet rather than relinquish any of our sacred rights, or should justice be longer unreasonably denied us, we confidently assure you that we will rally round the standard of Government, cheerfully obey the first call of our country, and unite with them in the last solemn appeal to nations, relying and trusting in that Almighty Being who directs and controls the destinies of the world, to guide us to a favorable issue." To this address the President made a brief and somewhat guarded reply.

The attempt to establish the silk industry in Vermont is shown in a petition from inhabitants of Waitsfield, Duxbury and Moretown, "praying the Legislature to grant them assistance in raising mulberry trees."

A proposal emanating from the Virginia Legislature, permitting the removal of United States Senators by the

vote of a majority of the whole number of the members of the respective State Legislatures by which they had been or might be elected, was rejected by the General Assembly. A proposal of the Massachusetts Legislature to amend the Federal Constitution by limiting its powers to lay an embargo or to suspend commerce for more than thirty days from the beginning of the session of Congress following the one in which such law was enacted, was not adopted. The same fate befell a proposal from Pennsylvania to establish an impartial tribunal to determine disputes between States and the National Government.

The Embargo Act forced Americans in self defence to promote domestic manufactures. In 1807 a resolution introduced by Charles Rich of Shoreham recommended to the Governor, Council and members of the Assembly that they appear at the next session clothed in manufactures of Vermont or some other of the States of the American Union. In 1809 Congress had directed the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare a plan for promoting and fostering domestic manufacturing and a resolution was adopted by the Vermont Legislature, on motion of Mr. Rich of Shoreham, appointing a committee of one from each county to prepare a statement of the manufactures of the State. The report of this committee, given herewith, furnishes an official statement of the industrial activities of Vermont, particularly in household manufactures, only furnaces and forges being excluded from that list.

Ruins of Fort Cassin, Mouth of Otter Creek

Counties	*Cotton and Linen (No. yards)*	*Woolen (No. yards)*	*Clothiers' Works*	*Carding Machines*	*Furnaces*	*Forges*
Addison	127,600	107,200	15	13	2	15
Bennington	84,100	62,900	11	9	1	3
Caledonia	135,000	110,000	12	10		
Chittenden	128,000	110,000	8	8		
Essex and Grand Isle.....	28,960	27,860	3	3		
Franklin	32,600	40,400	7	10	2	2
Orange	177,000	177,000	19	19		
Orleans	33,000	30,000	4	4		
Rutland	170,200	143,040	26	18	3	6
Windham	120,000	100,000	24	16		
Windsor	269,090	134,045	34	25		
	1,315,550	1,042,945	163	135	8	26

The committee expressed the belief that the bar iron and hollow ware annually produced was more than enough to supply the inhabitants of the State. The seven Vermont paper mills exported much of their product. There were at that time four mills manufacturing cotton and woolen goods. The copperas mine at Strafford seemed likely to yield a large supply of copperas and vitriols. Allusion was made to the marble factory at Middlebury, a furnace and forge at Vergennes, owned by a Boston company, and two slitting mills, one at Vergennes and the other at Fair Haven. This statement made no mention of pot and pearl ashes, timber and lumber, which were exported in large quantities.

According to Thomas' "History of Printing," fourteen newspapers were published in Vermont at the beginning of the year 1810.

Governor Galusha was reelected in 1810 over his predecessor, Ex-Governor Tichenor, by a majority of 3,537, the vote being, Galusha 13,810, Tichenor, 9,912; scattering, 361. A Republican Council was chosen and the same party controlled the General Assembly by a majority of 75. Samuel Shaw (Republican) and Martin Chittenden (Federalist) were reelected to Congress. James Fisk (Republican) of Barre, who had served in Congress from 1805 to 1809, was elected again to represent his Congressional District and one new member, William Strong (Republican), of Hartford was chosen. William Strong was born at Lebanon, Conn., in 1763. He had made land surveys in Grand Isle county and engaged in farming at Hartford. He represented that town in the Legislature in 1798-99, 1801-02, and 1815-18. He was Sheriff of Windsor county from 1802 to 1810, and Assistant Judge in 1816. He served in Congress from 1811 until 1815 and again from 1819 until 1821. He died January 28, 1840.

When the Legislature assembled Dudley Chase was reelected Speaker. In his inaugural address Governor Galusha referred to the unhappy condition of Europe, driven into the vortex of war, and alluded to the wisdom of the measures adopted by the United States Government to preserve neutrality, adding, "We have to regret that for the want of unanimity among ourselves, they, in some measure, have failed of their desired effect." In his opinion, with "every American heart barred against foreign influence and suitably attached to the Government and interest of his own country, we might put the powers of Europe at defiance. We have the

means of wealth within our own territory; and were we to turn our attention to our internal resources and foster our infant manufactures, the belligerent nations of Europe would soon seek our friendship, court our trade, and render just retribution for the injuries they have done us." He hoped that the citizens of this country soon would be able not only to manufacture their own clothing but to export cotton and woolen goods, and thus restore "that portion of specie which has been drawn from us by the exclusive use of foreign manufactured goods."

During this session of the Legislature a new county was organized, and the name given to it, Jefferson, reflected the political trend of this particular period. The following towns were included: Duxbury, Fayston, Middlesex, Moretown, Stowe, Waitsfield, Waterbury and Worcester, from Chittenden county; Calais, Marshfield, Montpelier and Plainfield, from Caledonia county; and Barre, Berlin and Northfield, from Orange county. When the bill organizing the county was presented to the Council it was defeated by a vote of seven to six, objection being made to the expense of erecting county buildings. The bill having been returned to the House, it was revised by adding a provision that if a committee appointed for the purpose should be able to secure the erection of a jail, jailer's house, and a convenient place for the holding of sessions of court, without public expense, the new county should be established. The bill thus amended, passed the Council by a vote of eight to five, and became a law. The representatives of all the towns which composed the county had asked that the

name should be Washington. The name Jefferson was inserted in the House bill, and an attempt to change it in the Council was defeated. In 1814 the name was changed to Washington, the Federalists having a majority in the Legislature at that time.

The Runaway Pond incident occurred during 1810. On June 26, about sixty men were engaged in the task of diverting the waters of Long Pond in Glover into a smaller pond below. It developed that the northern shore of the pond was quicksand covered with only a thin coating of clay and almost as soon as the men began to dig into this shore, the earth barrier gave way and the water went out with a rush, so that in fifteen minutes the bed of the pond was bare. A torrent of water sixty feet high and twenty rods wide swept through the channel of the Barton River, over the meadows in the valley, leveling hills, filling valleys, destroying forests, moving huge boulders and carrying with it mills, houses, barns, fences, cattle, horses and sheep. The people who lived in the pathway of this torrent barely escaped with their lives to the hills. In about six hours all the waters of Long Pond had reached Lake Memphremagog, a distance of twenty-seven miles. The channel through which the waters escaped is one hundred and twenty-seven feet deep and several rods wide. A highway now runs through the bed of the old pond.

The Green Mountain Farmer, successor to the *Vermont Gazette,* published at Bennington by William Haswell, in an account of a trip taken by the editor through the State for the purpose of establishing postal routes, printed in its issue of April 8, 1811, gives a descrip-

tion of the state of public opinion as the editor found it in Vermont. Some persons desired bold and hostile measures to secure national rights, while others favored calmness and submission. He asserted that three-fifths of the people were firm supporters of the Democratic (Republican) administration, "yet the bench, the bar, the public seminary and the sacred desk exhibits a different aspect; four-sevenths if not five-eighths of our vehicles of public information are decidedly and virulently engaged in calumniating our cause and our government, and thrive beyond those of a different political character." This was the opinion of a zealous supporter of the administration, but it indicates in a general way the line of political cleavage shown generally in New England at this time.

There was no political overturn in 1811. Governor Galusha was reelected, defeating Congressman Martin Chittenden by a majority of 2,056. Ex-Governor Tichenor was nominated but declined to accept and suggested Mr. Chittenden. Chittenden's vote in Bennington county was only 198, while Galusha had 1,249, but he carried Franklin, Grand Isle, Chittenden and Windham counties. A Republican Council was elected, and the same party had a majority of about fifty in the Assembly. Dudley Chase was elected Speaker for the fourth consecutive time. In his speech accepting reelection, Governor Galusha declared that it was not his intention to advance any opinion on the subject of peace or war, although he prayed for "an amicable settlement of all our difficulties"; but with characteristic prudence he urged that the State should "be prepared for any

event which may occur." He advocated more than ordinary attention to the militia in the "present unsettled state of our national affairs," and considered it highly expedient that a suitable supply of arms should be provided for the use of the militia "in cases of urgency," either by the State or the National Government. The Governor protested against the criticisms of President Madison's administration and deplored "the continual charge of partiality and French influence."

A constitutional amendment, proposed by Congress, was transmitted to the Legislature, providing that if any citizen of the United States should receive and retain any title of nobility or honor, or, without the consent of Congress, should accept any "present, pension, office or emolument whatever from any Emperor, King, Prince, or foreign power," he should cease to be a citizen of this country and should be incapable of holding any office of profit or trust in State or Nation. This amendment was ratified without opposition. A communication was received from Gouverneur Morris, DeWitt Clinton, Robert R. Livingston, Robert Fulton and other members of a New York commission relating to the construction of water comunication from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. A resolution was adopted recognizing the great importance of the subject, but postponing consideration until the next session, when more definite information could be obtained.

During the latter part of July, 1811, Vermont was visited by what was described as the most destructive freshet ever known. All the crops of grain and grass on the lower Otter Creek meadows, never more promis-

ing, were swept away or buried under the flood deposits. At Sutherland Falls, now Proctor, the forges and mills were swept away. At Middletown, now Middletown Springs, eleven buildings, including the mills, were carried down stream. Major Todd's woolen factory at Poultney, with its contents, including four thousand pounds of wool, was destroyed and two persons were drowned. The iron works, including forges, trip hammers, slitting mills, plating mills, etc., established at Fair Haven by Col. Matthew Lyon, were carried away. A large, two-story house at Clarendon was overturned and four other houses were swept away. On the east side of the State much damage was done. Most of the mills and bridges on the Ottaquechee River and many on the White River were carried away. Roads were made impassable from Windsor to Middlebury and elsewhere, and six miles of a turnpike from Stockbridge to Rutland were damaged beyond repair.

When Congress began its session late in 1811, Mr. Chittenden was appointed a member of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads; Mr. Shaw, on Claims; Mr. Fisk, on Naval Force.

On February 6, 1812, Mr. Quincy of Massachusetts presented a memorial from the Vermont Mineral Factory Company, setting forth the fact that the petitioners had established a manufactory of copperas, which it was believed would supply the needs of the United States; and praying that such a rate of duty might be laid upon imported copperas as seemed expedient to Congress.

Disturbances continued in the enforcement of the revenue law and late in the year 1811, a man was shot and killed by an officer at Windmill Bay in Alburg.

The opening months of 1812 found the United States drifting into war. There was no general uprising of the people in favor of hostilities. President Madison himself was believed to be opposed to such a policy. Speaker Henry Clay and some of his associates, who were called "war hawks," were determined to fight Great Britain. The impressment of American seamen naturally had aroused great resentment. "But it had been thrown into the background," says Woodrow Wilson, writing of this period of American history, who adds: "Mr. Jefferson had let it go almost without protest since his commissioners had failed to induce England to abandon it. It was now clearly an afterthought as a ground for war. There was no excitement in the country; only a vague irritation and fretfulness." After describing the enactment of an embargo act preparatory to war, Wilson continues: "It was a foolhardy and reckless risk the Congress was taking. * * * It was certainly no time for battle. The party in power had relied on embargoes and non-intercourse and had disbanded the army. The revenues of the government were scarcely more than sufficient for its meagre peace establishment. The very Congress which voted the war refused to provide the taxes which Mr. Gallatin told them would be necessary to carry it on."

Having come almost to the brink of war, Congress hesitated to take the final step. The Senate voted to take a recess from April 29 to June 8, and it was with

difficulty that the House was prevented from concurring in this policy of delay. Senator Stephen R. Bradley was a man of strong convictions and at times he refused to follow his party leaders. He had opposed Jefferson's attitude of hostility toward certain Federal Judges and now he was greatly displeased with Madison's administration, as his correspondence shows. In a speech on the proposed recess, delivered in the Senate on April 25, 1812, he said: "If we are going to war to redress grievances, to revenge injuries received, we should choose our own time. If we begin war before we have an army, it is bringing the Nation to the last stage of degradation not to consider at all the sufferings and losses which would be in such cases sustained. It would be a great error to put this country, by a forced vote of Congress, into war. You cannot lead this country to war as the butcher leads his flock to the slaughter house. This is a government of opinion; the public sentiment will not be driven, but must be followed. Congress have certainly done as much for the present as they can. I wish to see the effect of the measures they have taken. The Executive is clothed with all the necessary powers to make preparation for war; and if the Nation will not abide by us and support the measures of Congress, it is vain to say we can force the people into a war." It must be remembered that this speech was made by one of the veteran administration leaders in the Senate, not by a Federalist. Such an utterance may help to explain the bitter hostility to the war that existed, particularly in New England, and history shows that

the Vermont Senator was right in protesting against declaring war without making ready for a conflict.

In February, 1812, the supporters of the Madison administration were of the opinion that a war demonstration should be made at the State capital, and called a meeting at the State House. A great number of citizens flocked in from the surrounding towns and the legislative hall was filled to its utmost capacity. Rev. Chester Wright having declined to open the meeting with prayer, Rev. Ziba Woodworth, a militant clergyman and an ardent Republican, was called upon, and offered an invocation in which he is said to have informed the Almighty of a number of things not at all to the credit of the opposition party. For a time the Federalists controlled the meeting, but later their opponents arrived in numbers sufficient to enable the administration supporters to adopt resolutions to their liking.

On June 4, 1812, the House voted to declare war. Three Vermont Congressmen, Fisk, Shaw and Strong, supported the measure, while Martin Chittenden voted against it. The bill passed the Senate on June 18. Senator Robinson of Vermont voted for the bill, but Senator Bradley is not recorded as voting. An analysis of the vote shows that most of the Eastern and Middle States were opposed to war, while the Southern and Western States favored it. On June 22, Congressman Chittenden presented a petition signed by about two thousand persons, remonstrating against war and the restrictions established. It is said that he had previously presented other petitions of a similar nature signed by several thousand Vermonters.

There were many Vermonters who knew that war was stern business. Canada was the natural base for English operations, and the main highway from the province into this country was by way of the Champlain valley. When the American Revolution was fought, northern Vermont was an unsettled wilderness. Now it was a settled region of farms and villages. No other State had more to fear from invasion, perhaps none so much. When war was declared a county convention held at Williston adopted resolutions denouncing the administration.

A special session of the Governor and Council was called at Montpelier, July 23, 1812, as a result of pressing calls for aid from almost every town on the northern border. A committee consisting of Lieut. Gov. Paul Brigham, Horatio Seymour and Samuel C. Crafts was appointed to draft a memorial to the Secretary of War. This document sets forth so clearly Vermont's condition at the outbreak of war that a portion of it is given herewith: "The Council of said State of Vermont, taking into consideration the existing war between the United States and Great Britain and considering that the State of Vermont is a frontier State bordering on the British province of Lower Canada, having a frontier of about ninety miles, exposed to the inroads and depredations of the enemy, are deeply impressed with the exposed and defenceless situation of our new settlements on and near Canada line. The great exertion making in the province of Canada to organize an efficient military force has called the attention of the Council to the situation of our own State and induced a critical examination

of our means of defence. * * * We find that the militia of this State, especially the northern and more exposed part of it, is extremely deficient in arms. That to arm the militia, in addition to the arms we now have, ten thousand stands would be needed. In the northern counties we find it almost, if not wholly, impracticable for even the small number of troops detached for the United States service to furnish themselves with arms. The State has none, and arms in any quantity are nowhere to be purchased. With these views of our situation, the Council deem it highly necessary that the destitute situation of this frontier be immediately made known to the Executive of the General Government. * * * It will further be considered that this State will probably have its full share of the burthen of the war by its being, from its frontier situation, exposed to constant alarms and possibly to the necessity of calling out the whole body of the militia for its own defence, as well as for the benefit of the common cause, and if furnished with arms by the General Government, still bear their proportion of the expenses of prosecuting and supporting the cause of the Union." The resolutions presented were adopted.

It was announced that there had been delivered at Bennington one thousand stands of arms provided under an act of 1808, and a resolution was adopted advising the Governor to distribute them as follows: To Major General Cahoon, one hundred and fifty stands; to Brigadier General Mattocks, one hundred and fifty stands; to Brigadier General Fassett, one hundred stands; to Brigadier General Newell, one hundred stands. These

weapons were to be distributed where they would afford the greatest protection to the frontier, and were to be given "only to such men as are actually engaged in the defence of the State, and who are unable to arm themselves." The Governor was requested to ask General Dearborn to order two or three companies of the detached militia of the State to be stationed on or near the line in the counties of Orleans and Essex. Soon after war was declared small companies of volunteers were stationed at Troy, Derby and Canaan, and were supported by towns in Caledonia, Essex and Orleans counties.

Governor Galusha left Burlington July 31, 1812, to visit the troops on the frontier. The next day he entered their encampments, and after reviewing the soldiers he made a patriotic speech.

Before war was actually declared, Col. Isaac Clark of the Eleventh U. S. Infantry, a son-in-law of Governor Chittenden, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, familiarly known as "Old Rifle," was sent to Burlington, where he purchased for the Government two five-acre lots on a bluff overlooking Lake Champlain, now including the site of Battery Park. Little more was done during the summer but in the fall the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth Infantry arrived at Burlington and went into winter quarters, under command of Brig. Gen. John Chandler.

Early in January, 1809, Lieut. Melancton Woolsey was ordered to build two gunboats on Lake Champlain. When war was declared these boats were at Basin Harbor, one being partly sunk, with seams open almost wide

enough to admit a man's hand. Lieut. Sidney Smith was in command of these craft and General Dearborn had under his control six transports, the command of which he relinquished to the naval authorities with some reluctance. A sloop called the *Rising Sun* was purchased later and rechristened the *Preble.* A steamboat also was bought and named the *Ticonderoga,* but her engines did not work in a satisfactory manner and she was refitted as a schooner. On September 12, 1812, Lieut. Thomas Macdonough, then only twenty-eight years old, who had won distinction under Decatur, was ordered from Portland, Me., to Burlington to take command of the American fleet on Lake Champlain. Starting on horseback, his only attendant being a country lad who returned with the horse, he arrived in Burlington after a four days' journey, and assumed command of naval affairs.

On August 12, 1812, the United States Marshal issued an order directing all British subjects in Vermont to report to him forthwith.

After the adjournment of Circuit Court at Windsor, May 4, 1812, Ex-Senator Nathaniel Chipman asked the Federalists to remain, and a State ticket was nominated, headed by Martin Chittenden. The hardships of the Embargo Act were set forth and the statement was made that "the undersigned have not yet been able to see the necessity of war." Hope was expressed that further endeavors would be made to procure a settlement of national disputes by negotiation.

The candidates for Governor in 1812 were the same as in the previous year, and Governor Galusha was elected over Martin Chittenden, the vote being, Galusha,

19,158; Chittenden, 15,950; scattering, 644. A Republican Council and Legislature were chosen. The number of Congressmen had been increased to six and a solid Republican delegation was chosen by majorities varying from 250 to 400. James Fisk of Barre and William Strong of Hartford were reelected and the former was appointed a member of the Ways and Means Committee. The new members were William C. Bradley of Westminster, Ezra Butler of Waterbury, Richard Skinner of Manchester and Charles Rich of Shoreham.

William Czar Bradley, son of Senator Stephen Row Bradley, was born at Westminster, March 23, 1782. William was a precocious child, and was ready to enter college at the age of thirteen years. He entered Yale College but did not complete his course, being expelled for some mischief of which it is said he was not guilty. At seventeen he delivered a Fourth of July oration. He studied law and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty years. He represented Westminster in the Legislature in 1806-07, in 1819, and many years later, in 1852. His first election was at the age of twenty-four. He was State's Attorney of Windham county from 1804 to 1812, and a member of the Council in 1812. He was a member of Congress from 1813 to 1815, being elected at the age of thirty years, and again from 1823 to 1827. He was an agent for the United States in settling the dispute involving the boundary between this country and Canada. Several times he was the Democratic candidate for Governor, but in 1856 he left that party on the anti-slavery issue and as one of the first of the Presidential Electors of the Republican party in

Vermont, voted for John C. Fremont for President. He was a handsome man, courtly in manner, with a ready wit and a great fund of information. He has been called one of the most brilliant men Vermont ever produced. He was very popular with his Congressional associates. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay sought his society and he was a friend of Calhoun, Adams, Benton and Cass. Like other able Vermonters, who might be mentioned, his political affiliations debarred him from longer public service. He died March 2, 1867.

Ezra Butler was born in Lancaster, Mass., September 24, 1763. He removed first to Weathersfield, Vt., and thence to Waterbury, being, it is said, the second settler in that township. He represented the town in the Legislature from 1794 to 1797, from 1799 to 1804 and was elected in 1807 but resigned to become a member of the Council. He was a member of the Council from 1809 to 1812, and after a term in Congress, served continuously in the Council from 1815 to 1825. In 1826 and again in 1827 he was elected Governor. He was Assistant Judge of the County Court for twenty years, was a member of the Council of Censors in 1806, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1822, and a Presidential Elector in 1820, 1828 and 1832. He was ordained a Baptist preacher about 1800, and continued in that capacity until his death, July 12, 1838.

Richard Skinner was born in Litchfield, Conn., May 30, 1778. He was educated at the law school in that town and was admitted to the bar in 1800. He came to Vermont immediately thereafter and settled at Man-

chester. He served as State's Attorney for Bennington county from 1801 until 1813, and again in 1819, Judge of Probate from 1806 until 1813, Member of Congress for one term, represented Manchester in the Legislature in 1815 and again in 1818, when he was chosen Speaker, was Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court in 1815 and 1816, was Governor from 1820 to 1823 and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1823 to 1828. He died, May 23, 1833.

Charles Rich was born in Warwick, Mass., September 13, 1771, and came to Shoreham in 1787, at the age of sixteen years, making the journey on foot. Although poor and without educational advantages, he became a man of much more than ordinary intelligence and acquired a large property. He represented Shoreham in the General Assembly from 1800 to 1802, from 1804 to 1812 and again in 1815. He was elected to Congress five times, serving from 1813 to 1815 and from 1817 until his death, October 16, 1824. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1814 and a Judge of Addison County Court for six years.

Dudley Chase was reelected Speaker at the opening of the legislative session of 1812, but when the election for United States Senator occurred, he was chosen "by a handsome majority" to succeed the veteran statesman Stephen R. Bradley. The vote was 110 for Chase, 94 for Judge Royall Tyler, and 4 scattering. General Bradley's withdrawal from public life was due to his dissatisfaction with the war, according to the Senator's son-in-law, S. G. Goodrich, better known by his pen-name of Peter Parley. Senator Bradley was probably

the most influential man whom Vermont sent to either branch of Congress during the first thirty years of its existence as a State. He was no man's man, and he followed neither Presidents nor party leaders blindly. He served his State long and faithfully and was a national figure for many years.

Dudley Chase, the new Senator, was born in Cornish, N. H., December 30, 1771. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1791, studied law and settled in Randolph, Vt. He was State's Attorney for Orange county from 1803 until 1811, a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1814 and 1822 and represented Randolph in the Legislature from 1805 to 1812, being elected Speaker for five consecutive terms. At the expiration of his first term in the United States Senate he was elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and served on the bench until 1820, when he resumed the practice of law. He represented Randolph again in the Legislature in 1823 and 1824, when he was chosen United States Senator for a second time. He died February 23, 1846. He was a brother of Bishop Philander Chase of Ohio, and Salmon P. Chase, Senator, Governor, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was his nephew.

A meeting of Republican members of the Vermont Legislature was held in Jefferson Hall on the evening of October 9, 1812. The attendance was one hundred and thirty-four, and Elihu Luce presided. Resolutions were adopted setting forth the need of keeping in power those who had won the confidence of the people, attack-

ing those who advocated a peace policy, and declaring that "We feel it our incumbent duty at the ensuing election of first and second magistrates of the Union, to support James Madison as President and Elbridge Gerry as Vice President of the United States."

The Presidential Electors chosen in 1812 were Nathaniel Niles of West Fairlee, Josiah Wright of Pownal, Noah Chittenden of Jericho, William A. Griswold of Danville, William Slade of Cornwall, Elihu Luce of Hartland, John H. Andrus and Mark Richards of Westminster. The electoral vote of Vermont was cast for James Madison and Elbridge Gerry. It is significant that the opposition to the war was so strong that the only Northern States carried by Madison were Vermont, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Governor Galusha naturally devoted most of his inaugural address to the war and related problems. He expressed the belief that the National Government, by every means within its power, had endeavored to "remove the encroachments on our lawful commerce and the infringements on our national rights and independence," without resorting to war. "Such has been her (Great Britain's) conduct toward the United States," he said, "that we had no alternative but to submit to her arbitrary edicts and abandon our real independence, or with manly fortitude contend for our sacred rights at the expense and hazard of a war with that formidable nation, which in the exercise of power is regardless of right. * * * Although some doubt the propriety of the measures adopted, yet war being declared by the constituted authorities of our country, it ought no longer

to remain a question of policy, but it has become the duty of the State governments, and of every individual, with promptitude to espouse the sacred cause of our injured country. * * * At so important and interesting a crisis as the present, it is expedient that we lay aside all party prejudices and unite in one common cause to maintain our independence. * * * Is it possible to conceive that any citizen, living under such a mild and equal government, can be so destitute of the principles of patriotism, and so lost to their own true interests, as through a fond passion for a foreign power, the violence of party zeal or the sordid passion of avarice, to betray the just cause of their suffering country, prolong the horrors of war, invoke the vengeance of heaven, and be guilty of the blood of thousands, by devoting their talents and yielding their support to a nation whose pledged faith has been so often violated, and whose tender mercies by experience have been proved to consist in cruelty? * * *

"Situated as this State is, contiguous to the populous settlements of the enemy and exposed to the whole military force in Lower Canada, I should be deficient in my duty if I did not recommend to you in the most pressing manner, by every mean(s) in your power to put this State in the best possible posture of defence; to have the militia properly equipped, ready to take the field, and provide for their speedy and effectual movement to any place of danger whenever danger requires. The militia law will need a thorough revision, and many additions to render it efficient for the exigencies of war. * * * The promptitude with which the detached

militia in most of the towns have marched to the defence of the frontier, has exceeded my highest expectations. Such a patriotic and military ardor pervades the State, that many thousands of the inhabitants who were by law exempt from military duty, have enrolled themselves, elected their officers, and tendered their services to support the laws and government of their country, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." A reply, said to have been "eminently partisan," was adopted by a vote of 112 to 81.

Charles Rich of Shoreham introduced the following resolution: "We, the representatives of the people of Vermont, believing that in times like those in which we now live, it is both proper and necessary that our sentiments should be known, not only to our constituents, but to our sister States, and the General Government, do hereby adopt the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the constituted authorities of our country, having declared war between the United States and Great Britain and her dependencies, it is our duty as citizens to support the measure, otherwise we should identify ourselves with the enemy, with no other distinction than that of locality. We therefore pledge ourselves to each other and to our Government, that with our individual exertions, our example and influence, we will support our Government and country in the present contest, and rely on the Great Arbiter of events for a favorable result."

Daniel Chipman of Middlebury, a Federalist leader, moved to amend by substituting the following: "We, the representatives of the people of Vermont, believing

the present crisis to be such that our sentiments ought to be directly known, both to our sister States, the General Government and the world, do therefore adopt the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the constituted authorities of our country, having declared war against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and her dependencies, whatever may be our opinions as to the wisdom and expediency of the measure, it is our duty as good citizens to submit; to support our own Government at every hazard; to obey the constitutional calls of our country and to rely on the Great Arbiter of events for a favorable result."

The Chipman resolution was lost by a vote of 80 to 127, and the original resolution was adopted by a vote of 128 to 79. The Governor and Council adopted the measure in concurrence.

The members who opposed the Rich resolution issued a protest against its adoption, particularly objecting to the statement, "otherwise we should identify ourselves with the enemy." In this statement they declared: "As we do conscientiously believe that the declaration of war alluded to in said resolution was premature, and the war itself inexpedient and likely to be extremely injurious to the people, we feel ourselves most solemnly bound, not only as good and faithful citizens, but as members of this Assembly, unequivocally to express our decided disapprobation of the measure." This protest was signed by seventy-seven members.

The Legislature passed laws defining the duties of the commissary department, directing the Commissary Gen-

eral to purchase four thousand stands of arms and transport them into the State for the use of the militia. Civil process against officers and soldiers was suspended while they were in the service. Each town was directed to provide arms and equipment for men unable to arm and equip themselves. The provisions of an act to prevent intercourse with enemies on the northern frontier fixed a penalty of one thousand dollars, or seven years' imprisonment, or both, for any person who should pass or repass from Vermont to Lower Canada without a permit from the Governor. Persons driving cattle or horses or conveying property towards Lower Canada *sub modo* were liable to be apprehended and compelled to give bonds. Property moving into Lower Canada or concealed near the same was liable to be forfeited. Persons driving horses, cattle, sheep and swine or transporting property into Lower Canada were liable to forfeit the same, pay a sum equal to double the value of the property, and be further liable to the penalties and punishment mentioned in the first section of the act. Trunks and papers might be inspected without warrant by any Justice of the Peace and letters and papers might be detained. Another act provided for raising a volunteer corps of two brigades consisting of sixty-four companies of infantry, two of artillery and two of cavalry. A military aide was provided for the Governor during the war.

It was voted that the detached militia in service should receive ten dollars per month as wages. A tax of one cent on the dollar of the grand list was laid, and, in addition, one cent on each acre of land, public lands excepted.

It was estimated that this would raise "the enormous sum" of one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars.

On September 28, 1812, Rockingham voted not to raise money to make up the deficiency in the wages of the soldiers who had gone to Burlington from that town, but raised a tax of one cent on the dollar to pay their expenses. Poultney, by a vote of 79 to 59, taken in the same year, refused to pay three dollars a month to the men from that town who had enlisted. At a town meeting held at Norwich, June 18, 1812, resolutions were adopted condemning Great Britain's aggression, and adding: "We do most solemnly pledge ourselves, our property and our all in support of our Government in demanding justice of Great Britain."

During this session the majority party passed a law providing that the six Congressmen should be elected on a general ticket, instead of choosing them by districts. The Federalists protested vigorously against this change, asserting that the reason for it was the fact that in the past their party had been able to elect some members of the delegation.

During this session representatives of the Caughnawaga Indians presented certain claims and asked for an annual payment of money. The Legislature declined to accede to this request, but voted one hundred dollars for presents for the tribal chiefs and an equal amount for their expenses.

Before war was declared the President had directed Governor Galusha to have three thousand of the militia of Vermont detached, organized and equipped, and held in readiness to march at a moment's warning. Orders

were issued by Adjt. Gen. David Fay on May 1, 1812, to Maj. Gens. Lewis R. Morris, David Robinson, Hezekiah Barnes and William Cahoon, to detach certain officers and men from their respective divisions. When ordered into the field this force was to be under the command of Gen. Jonathan Orms of Fair Haven, commanding the second brigade of the second division.

The Eleventh Regiment was organized in 1812 with Isaac Clark, a Revolutionary veteran, as Colonel. It appears originally to have consisted of six Vermont and four New Hampshire companies.

The towns along the Canadian border had been settled only a short time and the inhabitants were comparatively few. Even before war actually was declared there was consternation in these exposed townships. A special town meeting was called in Troy, May 12, 1812, to see what action should be taken toward furnishing the local militia with arms and ammunition: and the selectmen were authorized to borrow twenty muskets and bayonets on the credit of the town, and to purchase twenty-five pounds of powder and one hundred weight of lead if it could be secured on six months' credit.

As soon as war was declared the Selectmen of Barnet, Cabot, Canaan, Craftsbury, Danville, Glover, Greensboro, Hardwick, Irasburg, Lowell, Lyndon, Morristown, Peacham, Ryegate, St. Johnsbury, Sheffield, Troy, Walden and Wheelock, furnished and supported a small number of men as guards in the frontier towns of Canaan, Derby and Troy, and spies were sent into Canada. Later the State assumed the cost of this

service. Palisades were erected at Troy and Westfield. A storehouse was built on North hill in Brownington, in which a stock of ammunition was placed. Barracks and a guardhouse were built at Derby. A fort was erected at Lowell, but it was not used. Families in Highgate assembled for safety when rumors were circulated that Indians were approaching, but no Indians came. A veritable panic seems to have seized upon the inhabitants of several of the towns of Orleans county, an Indian raid being expected, and the residents fled, abandoning houses and farms. Orleans county did not recover from the effects of this war for many years. Some of those who left never returned and others who came back suffered long from poverty and discouragement.

During the summer and fall of 1812 the principal force for the protection of the northern border was stationed at Plattsburg, N. Y. A newspaper report dated Plattsburg, October 16, says that General Orms with Colonel Martindale's regiment of Vermont detached militia arrived at that place the preceding Wednesday. A newspaper account, dated October 22, mentions the arrival at Burlington on the preceding Saturday of companies of light dragoons and flying artillery from Philadelphia. On the same day Col. J. Williams' regiment of the detached militia of Vermont joined the army at Plattsburg.

During the latter part of 1812, as the cold weather approached, the women of the State made socks and mittens for the soldiers. Two sleigh loads of vegetables, apples, butter, cheese, apple sauce and fowls were

sent to General Chandler for the sick soldiers. In acknowledging the gift the commanding officer declared that "the illness which has prevailed (and which has been so wantonly exaggerated) appears to be fast subsiding." According to the *Burlington Sentinel* nearly five hundred of General Chandler's brigade at one time were unfit for duty. The opponents of the war seem to have painted conditions in the darkest colors and the supporters of the administration appear to have endeavored to keep disagreeable features in the background. Partisanship distorted the vision of men so that even the condition of the soldiers' health was used as fuel to feed the fires of party strife.

A letter from Burlington, dated November 29, 1812, says that "General Dearborn with the principal part of his army has returned to this place for winter quarters." Another letter, bearing the date of December 7, says: "The army at Plattsburg is now broken up—the rapid descent is suspended—and our troops have returned to Vermont." Maj. Gen. Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts, senior officer of the army, had assembled a force of five thousand troops on the Canadian border, to meet an inferior British force, but the movement ended ingloriously for the Americans, one party of our troops having attacked another American detachment by mistake, whereupon the entire force retired.

At the close of the season of 1812, "my poor forlorn looking squadron," as Lieutenant Macdonough described his fleet, went into winter quarters at Shelburne. Obtaining a leave of absence at the close of the season of 1812, Macdonough went to Middletown, Conn.,

where, on December 12, he married Miss Lucy Ann Shaler, daughter of Nathaniel Shaler, who in his youth had been a Tory. Macdonough brought his bride, an attractive and talented young woman, to Burlington, where the couple spent the winter. The American commander devoted his time to putting his fleet into better condition. Fifteen ship carpenters were sent from New York in February and March, 1813, carronades, gun carriages and ammunition were sent to Whitehall to be forwarded to Shelburne when navigation opened. The Sloops *Hunter* and *Bull Dog* were remodeled so as to carry eleven guns each instead of seven, and they were renamed the *Growler* and the *Eagle*. The *President* was the flagship during the whole of the year 1813.

In April Macdonough sailed out of Shelburne harbor with the sloop *President,* 12 guns; the sloop *Growler,* commanded by Lieut. Sidney Smith, 11 guns; the sloop *Eagle,* commanded by Sailing Master Jairus Loomis, 11 guns; and two gunboats, each carrying two guns. About April 25 the three sloops were at Plattsburg.

During the month of June Macdonough received orders from Secretary of the Navy Jones, which included the following admonition: "You are to understand that upon no account are you to suffer the enemy to gain the ascendency on Lake Champlain."

During the first week of June, 1813, a British force was reported to be annoying both shores of the lake and Lieut. Sidney Smith was ordered to proceed against the enemy with the *Growler* and the *Eagle*. Macdonough's flagship, the *President*, had been run ashore and damaged and he remained to make repairs. The

crews were mostly recruited from Captain Herrick's company of McCobb's Maine regiment, who were chiefly lumbermen from the seacoast towns.

Lieutenant Smith left Plattsburg on June 2, anchoring for the night near the international boundary. Very early the next morning, without orders, and contrary to Macdonough's advice, he proceeded down the Richelieu River as far as Isle aux Tetes, or Ash Island, where he sighted and chased three British gunboats. With a strong south wind blowing, Isle aux Noix was soon approached. The fortifications here were too strong to attack and afforded protection for the gunboats. The *Growler* and the *Eagle* now attempted to beat back against the adverse wind and the swift current, a difficult task.

The enemy, seeing the plight of the American boats, sent out row galleys, armed with more powerful guns than those carried by Smith's craft. About two hundred or three hundred men were distributed along both shores of the river, by the British commandant, and a brisk musket fire was opened. After a battle lasting several hours a 24-pound shot struck the port bow of the *Eagle,* and passing obliquely through the ship, tore off three planks from her starboard side below the water line. The boat immediately sank, but in shallow water, and members of the crew were taken off by boats sent from shore. A little later, about 11:15 o'clock, a 24-pound shot struck the *Growler's* mast, rendering the sloop unmanageable. Her ammunition was exhausted and she was run ashore, where she was captured. On the *Growler*, one man was killed and eight men were

wounded; on the *Eagle,* eleven were wounded. The British loss is said to have been severe. The captured officers and crews, numbering one hundred and twelve men, were sent as prisoners to Montreal and later to Halifax. Lieutenant Smith and two companions escaped from jail at Quebec by making a rope of strips of carpet and letting themselves down from an attic window, but they were soon recaptured. A court of inquiry investigated the capture of the boats and exonerated Lieutenant Smith.

The *Growler* and the *Eagle* were refitted and rechristened the *Broke* and the *Shannon.* Macdonough, with the *President* and two gunboats, retired to Burlington.

The British force on the lake, with this success, was superior to that commanded by Macdonough, and great alarm was created by rumors that an army six thousand strong was to be sent into the Champlain valley from Canada. Col. Isaac Clark called upon the militia to rally to the defence of the exposed frontier, and also appealed to the men who had passed the age when they were subject to military service. As a result of this appeal a "Burlington Corps of Exempts" was organized, containing fifty-seven men. According to the late Hon. G. G. Benedict, "this roll comprised prominent jurists, lawyers, physicians, bankers, merchants, and others of the first citizens of Burlington of that day." The two Burlington militia companies, commanded by Capt. Moses Jewett and Capt. Guy Catlin, respectively, and the "Corps of Exempts," were ordered, on June 10, to be ready for immediate service.

A Winter Scene in Vermont

Three days later, on June 13, 1813, five companies of the Thirteenth U. S. Infantry, comprising five hundred and fifty men under command of Major Phelps, and a detachment of United States Artillery with two 24-pound guns, arrived. The artillery was commanded by Lieut. Sylvester Churchill, recently graduated from the United States Military Academy, a native of Vermont, who was Inspector General of the army at the opening of the Civil War, in 1861.

Under the direction of Lieutenant Churchill, what is now called the Battery Park was fortified. From fields a mile or two distant, sods were brought with which a parapet containing thirteen embrasures was built. A regiment raised near Burlington, containing five hundred men and commanded by Colonel Williams, arrived June 16, and encamped on a plateau nearby. On June 20, the Fourth U. S. Infantry, seven hundred strong, commanded by Lieut. Col. John Dorrington, arrived from Boston; also a detachment of regular troops under Lieut. Col. Martin Norton, bringing four pieces of heavy artillery.

A little later the Thirty-first Regiment from Windsor county, under Col. Daniel Dana, and more heavy artillery arrived. This regiment was organized in February, 1813. The Thirtieth Regiment, Col. Elias Fassett commanding, had been organized during the same month, and in May, 1813, the Twenty-sixth Infantry was organized to serve for a year, Col. Isaac Clark commanding. Apparently it was consolidated with the Forty-eighth Regiment the following year.

It is related that desertions were frequent, and that on June 21, eight deserters, who had been tried by court martial and sentenced to death, were brought forth in the presence of a great concourse of people to be executed. The troops were formed in a hollow square. Colonel Clark was within this square, seated on a white horse, and the condemned men being brought before him, were solemnly warned not to repeat the offence, and then were pardoned. A little later John Cummings of the Fourth U. S. Infantry, blindfolded and kneeling on his coffin, was shot as a deserter. There were encamped at Burlington on July 6, about three thousand men, comprising the Second Battalion of the Fourth U. S. Infantry, six companies of the Eleventh Infantry, recruited in Vermont, the Twenty-ninth Infantry, the Thirtieth Infantry, recruited in Vermont, the Thirty-first Infantry, two troops of cavalry and two companies of artillery. Wooden barracks for the men were erected between Pearl and North streets, extending north and south, and several small story-and-a-half cottages were built at the lower end of Pearl street for officers' quarters.

Gen. Wade Hampton, grandfather of the Wade Hampton prominent as a Confederate cavalry officer and United States Senator from South Carolina, arrived at Burlington on July 30, and assumed command, General Dearborn having retired. Returns for August 2 show that the army under Hampton's control consisted of 140 dragoons, 90 artillerymen, 3,017 regular infantry, and 806 militia, a total of 4,053 men. Of this number 557 were reported sick, and 327 absent. Gen. James

Wilkinson had been assigned to the command of the Northern department.

Macdonough endeavored to repair the damage sustained by the loss of the *Growler* and the *Eagle,* and acting under the authority given him he purchased two sloops and fitted them out at Burlington. Secretary of the Navy Jones ordered the naval agent at New York to forward the guns which Macdonough needed, adding, that "the critical state of things on Lake Champlain by the unfortunate loss of the *Growler* and the *Eagle* renders great exertions necessary in order to regain command of that lake." A number of ship carpenters were hired at New York and Captain Evans of the Brooklyn Navy Yard was ordered to send one hundred sailors to Lake Champlain. It was so difficult to obtain men for his ships that Macdonough informed General Hampton early in July that it was his intention temporarily to dismantle and lay up the two gunboats until crews could be secured.

A careful watch for smugglers was kept along the northern frontier. A Lyndon man, in relating his experience, said he was halted six times within a distance of a mile and a half. He was also stopped and searched twenty-five miles south of the line.

Col. John Murray, on July 31, with more than 1,400 British soldiers and marines, on two sloops, the *Broke* and the *Shannon,* three gunboats, and forty-seven bateaux, took possession of Plattsburg, destroying much public property. Most of the public stores had been removed to Burlington. When the British approached

Plattsburg, the women and children fled to the town of Peru, N. Y.

On Monday morning, August 2, the *Broke,* commanded by Capt. Thomas Everard, the *Shannon,* under Capt. Daniel Pring, and one gunboat appeared off Burlington "to observe the state of the enemy's force there and to afford him an opportunity of deciding the naval superiority of the lake," as Everard reported the following day to Sir George Prevost. Macdonough's ships were in no condition to do battle with the British squadron. Two sloops were in the hands of the carpenters, one being without a mast. One sloop was fit for duty, in addition to which there were two small gunboats, each carrying a 12-pounder, and two or three scows. These craft were anchored under the protection of the battery on the bluff.

At 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon the British ships approached Burlington, it being supposed that they intended, if possible, to destroy three public storehouses erected on the wharf. When about a mile and a half from shore a cannonade was begun, the fire being returned by the battery under Lieutenant Churchill, by Macdonough's ships, and by Captain Chapell of the artillery, who had loaded a 12-pounder on each of two scows, the skirmish lasting twenty minutes. Having received several shots from the American guns, the British ships drew off toward the south.

Some of Macdonough's ships followed for two miles, but did not venture farther, as it was believed that other vessels were in hiding ready to attack, returning two hours later to their anchorage under the guns of the land

battery. The British ships proceeded south as far as Charlotte, captured and destroyed several small sailing vessels, and returned northward the next morning with a small sloop laden with flour, taken near Shelburne, and two or three ferry boats as prizes. No damage of importance was done at Burlington.

At the same time that this raid was made upon Plattsburg and Burlington, the exact date being a matter of dispute, two British gunboats and some of the bateaux entered Maquam Bay, on the Swanton shore. About six hundred soldiers landed at what was known as the Manzer place, and compelled Martin Manzer, then an old man, to act as guide to Swanton. A part of this force was ferried over the Missisquoi River, the other members remaining at the riverside. Troops had been stationed at Swanton in 1810 and 1811 to aid in enforcing the revenue laws. In 1812 barracks had been erected, built in the form of a crescent, east of the park, or "green," and there was a parade ground northwest of the barracks. From July 12 to December 8, 1812, eight companies of the First Vermont militia under command of Colonel Williams were stationed there, being discharged on the latter date. Soon after, Colonel Fifield's regiment was ordered to Swanton, where it remained five or six weeks and then left, only to be sent back a little later to spend the winter of 1812-13 in quarters at that place. Early in the summer of 1813 the troops were ordered away, and when the British approached, the government stores and property were unprotected. The barracks, a hospital and all government property that could be found were burned. One

soldier charged with pillaging was court martialled and sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. After spending a few hours the soldiers departed, the entire British force retiring to Canada.

The reports indicate that the Federalists were inclined to minimize the outrages at Swanton, and the Republicans to exaggerate them. There are conflicting affidavits. One set tells of houses stripped of contents, wheat and flax trodden, gardens uprooted and appletrees injured. Other affidavits indicate that the damage done was small.

On July 24, 1813, Macdonough was promoted from the rank of Lieutenant to that of Master Commandant and he was generally called Commodore, although no such rank had been conferred upon him.

In the summer of 1813 a direct tax was levied by Congress. The followers of Thomas Jefferson had protested vigorously against this method of taxation, but now the Federalists and Republicans changed places, although some members of the latter party joined in the opposition to the measure. The Vermont Congressmen are recorded as follows on the bill: Voting in the affirmative, Messrs. Fisk and Rich; voting in the negative, Messrs. Bradley and Butler; not voting, Messrs. Skinner and Strong. The only New England votes for the measure were the two cast by Vermont members. Vermont's share of the $3,000,000 to be raised was $96,790.34. The largest quotas were as follows: Windsor county, $15,542.32; Rutland county, $14,036.09; Windham county, $11,867.85; Orange county, $11,784.05; Addison county, $10,079.11.

Mr. Fisk of Vermont was a member of the select committee appointed in July, 1813, to report an embargo bill. At this time Mr. Fisk was chairman of the Committee on Elections. Other committee assignments of Vermont Congressmen included Bradley on Post Offices and Post Roads and Skinner on Military Establishment. At the December session of 1813, Mr. Bradley was assigned to the Committee on District of Columbia; Mr. Strong to Militia Laws; and Mr. Fisk to Retaliation. In 1814 Mr. Fisk was appointed a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Congressman William C. Bradley appears to have inherited traits of independence from his distinguished father, and on July 9, 1813, an extra session of Congress having been called, he introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the causes which have led to the multiplied failures of the arms of the United States on our West and Northwest frontiers; and that the committee be authorized to send for persons and papers." This resolution was introduced with what seemed to a Federalist newspaper, "very pertinent and proper remarks." In his speech he severely criticized the conduct of the war, saying that the people "have been cruelly disappointed. Instead of victory they have met with nothing but defeat, or if success has perched upon our unsteady standard it has been evanescent, unsupported and unimproved. Instead of that harmony and cooperation which alone assures success, we behold division and partial and unconnected enterprises. * * * Instead of shouts of triumph resounding through the country and making even the

walls of the Capitol to vibrate with joy, almost every paper which is daily laid upon our tables teems with some new tale of disaster and disgrace." He did not pretend to say where the cause of the evil was to be found, "but this he did know, that wherever it was, it ought to be ferreted out and exposed to the eyes of the Nation." It is evident from the tone of his speech that the people of Vermont were disappointed because Canada had not been attacked and conquered. The resolution was not adopted and Mr. Bradley was severely criticized by his Republican colleagues.

Soon after Congress assembled in regular session, Mr. Bradley offered another resolution, December 31, 1813, somewhat similar to the first, the text of which follows: "Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before this House any information in his possession, not improper to be communicated, which may tend to illustrate the causes of the failure of the armies of the United States on the Northern frontier." In offering the resolution Mr. Bradley declared that the objections to his first resolution appeared now to have lost much of their force, while "the reasons which recommended its adoption had daily gathered strength." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 137 to 13, and a committee was appointed to present the same to the President. Mr. Bradley was named as a member of the committee to investigate the conduct of army contractors.

Congressman Ezra Butler opposed the passage of Daniel Webster's resolution asking the President for information concerning the French decrees, and de-

fended Madison. Mr. Fisk of Vermont also opposed the resolution.

That ardent Federalist newspaper, *The Washingtonian,* published at Windsor, described the Federalist State Convention held in that town on May 3, 1813, as composed of the "friends of peace, commerce and liberty." James Whitelaw presided and a ticket was nominated headed by Martin Chittenden for Governor and William Chamberlain for Lieutenant Governor. The Republicans renominated Governor Galusha. No candidate received a majority for Governor, the vote being, Galusha, 16,828; Chittenden, 16,532; scattering, 605. A plurality sufficed to elect members of the Council, and eight Republicans and four Federalists were declared elected. The Federalists controlled the Assembly. The canvassing committee rejected the vote of Colchester on account of the alleged intrusion and votes of United States troops under command of Maj. John McNeil of New Hampshire. Had the vote of Colchester been accepted, three more Republican Councillors would have been elected. The Republican Legislature of 1812 had passed a law providing that any citizen of Vermont might vote for State officers in any town in the State where he might happen to be stationed, by proving that he was a freeman, provided that all officers and soldiers should attend the freeman's meeting without their arms. The Republicans realized that the election would be close, on account of the unpopularity of the Embargo Act and the war policy. Therefore United States Senator Jonathan Robinson, the administration leader in the State, appealed to Maj. Gen. Wade Hampton, in com-

mand of the Federal troops, in a letter in which he informed him of the act permitting soldiers to vote, expressed the belief that the votes of the soldiers, most of whom he considered as friends of the administration, would decide the election, and asked that every facility be granted the soldiers that would permit them to cast their ballots. The militia at Plattsburg had been discharged just before election and returned in time to vote.

The Federalists had organized the Assembly by electing Daniel Chipman as Speaker, and the canvassing committee had taken testimony of a conflicting nature concerning the Colchester election. Several citizens of that town testified under oath that no examination was made to determine whether soldiers were or were not citizens of Vermont; that army officers were active in writing votes; that citizens were prevented from having any intercourse with the soldiers; that only Republican votes were distributed to the soldiers; that the soldiers were marched within twenty feet of the polling place, permitted to vote, and then marched away again. Others testified that the commanding officer, Major McNeil, addressed the troops on parade, saying he desired none to go to the polls who would not vote as he voted; that the soldiers were threatened with punishment if they voted the Federalist ticket; that Federalist soldiers were detained in camp on election day. Heman Allen, Town Clerk of Colchester, testified that he asked those who were not Vermont citizens to step out of the ranks before he administered the oath, and that some did leave the ranks. Others testified that they saw no coercion or interference. Affidavits were secured giving

the names of a considerable number of citizens of Colchester and soldiers who were citizens of Vermont, who voted for Republican candidates for members of the Council.

The Council had a Republican majority and made a report to the effect that the vote of Colchester should be counted, and adopted a resolution providing that a joint assembly be held October 21 to hear the petition and remonstrance of three Republican candidates for the Council, who claimed that they should be given certificates of election. By a vote of 108 to 103 the House refused to concur in the resolution. On October 16 the House declined to proceed to the election of a Governor and Lieutenant Governor, probably for the reason that three Federalist Councillors had not arrived. As the belated members had reached Montpelier on October 20, a joint resolution was adopted, providing for a joint session for the election of certain State officers. It was supposed that the parties were evenly divided on joint ballot, each having 112 votes. When the votes were counted for Governor, however, Martin Chittenden, the Federalist candidate, had 112, and Gov. Jonas Galusha, 111 votes, and Chittenden was declared elected. William Chamberlain of Peacham, a Federalist, was elected Lieutenant Governor.

There was great excitement following the announcement of the result. The Republicans asserted either that one vote had been lost, or had not been counted, or that a Republican member had been persuaded to refrain from voting. A remonstrance was presented, signed by 112 members who claimed to have voted for Governor

Galusha. Afterward, however, reports were circulated to the effect that a Republican member had withheld his vote, and that efforts had been made to induce a member to absent himself. Such reports, however, lacked confirmation. A resolution was presented providing for the appointment of a joint committee to consider the remonstrance, but before the debate had been concluded the Governor-elect and Lieutenant Governor-elect appeared with the Council. The oath was administered and Governor Chittenden delivered his inaugural address.

For a long time a controversy raged over the legality of Martin Chittenden's election. Had the vote of Colchester been counted, three more Republican Councillors would have been elected, which would have given a majority on joint ballot sufficient to reelect Governor Galusha and Lieutenant Governor Brigham.

A Federalist Council of Censors was chosen, only one Republican member being elected.

Martin Chittenden had been trained to public life. From childhood to manhood he had been reared in a home where his father had transacted the business of the State. From the time he attained his majority he had been in the public service in a legislative or judicial capacity. He had just completed ten years as a member of Congress. As a Federalist, he had been opposed to the Embargo Act and the declaration of war. He had also voted against the bill prohibiting the importation of slaves into any part of the country within the jurisdiction of the United States after January 1, 1808.

Considering the fierceness of partisan strife at this period, the new Governor's references to national topics in his inaugural address may be considered temperate. Referring to the war, he said: "It was declared under circumstances which forcibly induced a great proportion of the people to consider it at least doubtful, as to its necessity, expedience or justice. And its continuance has become still more so, since the removal of the Orders in Council, the principal alleged cause of it." The subject of the impressment of seamen, he thought, had never been considered a sufficient cause of war by either of the preceding administrations, and he did not believe it ought "now to be considered an insuperable obstacle to a fair and honorable peace, or an adequate cause for a protracted, expensive and destructive war." In his opinion "the conquest of the Canadas, of which so much has been said, if desirable under any circumstances, must be considered a poor compensation for the sacrifices which are and must necessarily be made."

The reply to the Governor's speech, drafted in sympathy with his ideas, was adopted in the House by a vote of 96 to 89, but seventy-nine members entered a protest, condemning the political references in the address. During the legislative session several acts were passed repealing some of the war legislation of the previous session, among them the law to prevent intercourse with enemies on the northern frontiers. The measure repealed was very drastic, its enforcement was attended with difficulty, it was considered unconstitutional by many and the repealing act passed the House

by a vote of 159 to 19, many of the war party supporting it.

During the second war with Great Britain, as in the War of the Revolution, the invasion of Canada was popularly considered as an effective method of offensive warfare. The Government having decided in 1813 to assume the offensive, Burlington was made the base of operations against Canada. Before winter the main building of the University of Vermont was taken over by the military authorities as barracks, and filled with soldiers.

A report having been received to the effect that two British sloops and five gunboats were in American waters, Macdonough sailed north from Burlington September 8, and offered battle, but the British fleet retired from the lake. The American naval force in Lake Champlain at this time consisted of *The President,* 12 guns; *Commodore Preble,* 11 guns; *Montgomery,* 11 guns; *Frances,* 6 guns; two gunboats, each of which carried an 18-pounder; and six scows, each of which was armed with a 12-pounder.

It was announced in a newspaper on September 17 that the army stationed at Burlington had moved north as far as Cumberland Head, and Macdonough's fleet was stationed at Gravelly Point, north of the army. The plan of campaign against Montreal included in the attacking force the troops which had been stationed at Burlington, and Vermont soldiers of the Eleventh U. S. Infantry at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y.

While Hampton was encamped at Chateaugay, Col. Isaac Clark, in command at Champlain, was ordered to

commence "a petty war," or make a diversion on the border. It was also intended to break up the traffic which was carried on in violation of the act forbidding trading with the enemy. With one hundred and ten men he left Champlain on the evening of October 11 and crossed to the village of Missisquoi Bay, Que. (Philipsburg), where a small British force under Major Powell was stationed. Advancing in double quick time, Clark ordered the British soldiers, hastily drawn up near the guard house, to lay down their arms. Taken by surprise, and believing from Clark's boldness that he was supported by a large force, Major Powell obeyed the summons. The main body of the enemy, however, did not yield, and prepared to charge; but a well directed volley from the Americans cut down the Captain and several soldiers, whereupon the rest threw down their arms and surrendered.

Captain Finch was directed to keep on the lookout for a body of two hundred of the enemy under Colonel Lock, which was reported to be approaching. An advance guard of cavalry was surprised and the remainder retreated. The British loss was nine killed and fourteen wounded. Clark took his prisoners, numbering one hundred and one men, to Burlington, from which place they were sent to Greenbush, N. Y.

Early in November Clark engaged in another foray and took ninety head of cattle which had been driven across the line. Hampton's offensive against Canada having proved a failure, General Wilkinson planned an attack on Kingston, and in the battle of Chrystler's

Farm, several Vermonters were wounded or reported as missing.

A force of four hundred British under Captain Pring, in six large galleys, landed at Rouses Point, N. Y., on December 4, and burned an empty storehouse. Seeing the smoke of the burning building, Macdonough's fleet started in pursuit of the enemy. Four galleys under the command of Lieut. Stephen Cassin were directed to bring Pring's ships into action, if possible, thus allowing the sloops to come up. The British refused battle, however, their superior number of sweeps enabling them to keep the lead. After following the retreating foe for three hours the pursuit was abandoned. A little later, on December 21, the American fleet went into winter quarters at Vergennes, on the Otter Creek.

Soon after General Hampton's departure from Burlington, in September, Gen. Thomas Parker of Virginia arrived, and a little later Gen. Alexander Macomb was assigned to the command at that place, arriving about the middle of February, 1814.

After the Canadian campaign, the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth Regiments were ordered to Burlington from Plattsburg, and the Third Brigade of the Third Division of the Vermont militia under Colonel Fassett was called out, being reviewed at Burlington by Gov. Martin Chittenden.

A British force of Frontier Light Infantry commanded by Captain Barker crossed the boundary line at Derby at daybreak on December 27, 1813, and destroyed barracks for one thousand, two hundred men, lately erected, stables, storehouses and a considerable

quantity of military stores. After the raid a force of two hundred American troops was sent to Derby.

Recruiting stations were opened at Barnard's Tavern in Burlington and at Davis' Tavern in Montpelier. To every able bodied man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, who would enlist for five years, or during the war, a bounty of one hundred and twenty-four dollars and one hundred and sixty acres of land was offered.

Nathan B. Haswell was acting commissary at Burlington, and he gave up his business building in the village for an army storehouse. The cellar was transformed into a great vat with a capacity of three hundred barrels, where beef was salted for the use of the troops. According to Mr. Haswell the army rations at that time consisted of a pound and a half of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork, eighteen ounces of bread or flour, a gill of rum, whiskey, or brandy; with two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four pounds of soap, and a pound and a half of candles for each one hundred rations.

Regarding the heavy mortality among the troops at Burlington Mr. Haswell said: "Several hundred died weekly, and it was not uncommon to find that twenty had died in the night." Many of the dead were buried in a field north of the Battery, known for many years as the "Soldiers' Burial Ground." As a result of sickness in the camp near the Battery, a new camp was established on the pine plains in the eastern part of the town, now South Burlington, and south of the main road to Williston. The official reports of the General

Hospital at Burlington, made by the Surgeon in charge, Dr. James Mann, do not corroborate the statement made by Mr. Haswell concerning the number of deaths. The report for the first four months of 1813 was as follows:

	Sick	*Deaths*
January	180	7
February	631	17
March	930	29
April	690	21

The sick and convalescent in the hospital on April 30, numbered one hundred and sixty-one. A later report shows seventeen deaths in May, six in June and one in July, but there were several hundred cases of illness during this period.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the customs officers, the amount of smuggling during the war was enormous. It was difficult for the British army in Canada to secure provisions and commissioners often came secretly over the Vermont border paying high prices for cattle to be driven across the boundary line. It the fall of 1813 a drove of fat oxen, purchased in the Connecticut River valley, principally in New Hampshire, ostensibly for the use of the American troops at Burlington and Plattsburg, were driven toward Canada. Government officers pursued the drovers and the herd was overtaken and placed in a yard at Johnson. During the night it was reported that a mob was coming to seize the cattle. An immediate call was sent out for the militia and sentinels were stationed. Just before daybreak about seventy men approached, armed with clubs and pitchforks, but discovering the strength of the militia they dispersed

quickly. The oxen were driven to Burlington. Later it was learned that many teams were on the road, laden with dry goods, going from Montreal to Boston. Summoning assistance, the officers encountered fourteen men, who were disposed to fight. Two or three smugglers were severely wounded and the whole party was captured.

Goods were seized which cost the owners, it is said, thirteen thousand dollars. Cattle were driven on back roads and through the woods. Smugglers' Notch, at the base of Mt. Mansfield, derives its name from the fact that through this wild and picturesque mountain pass, cattle were driven, destined for Canada, and by this route goods were brought for New England merchants. Thus the distance was shortened and the road or trail, for a considerable distance, lay through an unbroken forest, where revenue officers were not likely to be met.

During the spring of 1814 the State newspapers were filled with notices of information filed by the United States District Attorney against goods seized, including cattle, horses, provisions, merchandise, furs, and other articles. While the seizures were made chiefly in towns on or near the international boundary, mention is made of Colchester, Burlington, Charlotte, Richmond, Bristol, New Haven, Windsor and Weathersfield. A letter from Commandant Macdonough to the Secretary of the Navy, dated June 29, 1814, tells of receiving information that two spars, intended for the masts of a British ship under construction at Isle aux Noix, were on the way to Canada. An officer sent to investigate, reported that near the boundary line he seized and destroyed two

spars, one eighty, the other eighty-five feet long. The persons towing the masts made their escape. Another communication from Macdonough reported that on July 7 Midshipman Abbott destroyed four spars, four miles beyond the Canadian border. One was supposed to be a mainmast and the others were topmasts for a British ship. The *Plattsburg Republican* in an issue printed in the latter part of July, 1814, told of the capture by two American gunboats of a raft, consisting of plank and spars, valued at a sum between five and six thousand dollars, and twenty-seven barrels of tar. A crew of several Americans was taking the cargo to the enemy. The reputed owner was a prominent Vermont business man.

A band of smugglers attacked a party of customs officers, at Georgia, on July 23, 1814. In attempting to escape from an officer, on another occasion, a smuggler was shot and killed. The *Burlington Sentinel* reported that on August 26, 1814, Judge Adams, Collector of Internal Revenue, was seized at Alburg by a British Lieutenant and twelve men, who took from him about one thousand dollars, of which sum he had collected seven hundred dollars. As late as January 12, 1816, mention is made of a seizure at or near La Prairie, Que., of fifty-five kegs of tobacco. This comment is made: "The infamous practice of smuggling is now carried to such an alarming pitch as to destroy the prospects of every fair dealer."

Sir George Prevost, Governor General of Canada, in writing to Lord Bathurst of the British Foreign Office, August 27, 1814, reported that "two-thirds of the army

in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors, drawn principally from the States of Vermont and New York." General Izard of the American army informed Secretary of War Armstrong that only a cordon of troops from French Mills to Lake Memphremagog could stop intercourse with the enemy and that in Vermont the roads were too narrow and too few to permit the passage of the cattle driven into Canada. In his report he says: "Like herds of buffaloes they press through the forests, making paths for themselves. Were it not for these supplies, the British forces in Canada would soon be suffering from famine, or their Government be subjected to enormous expense for their maintenance." These are not agreeable facts to relate, but a true record must chronicle events as they occurred, whether agreeable or disagreeable.

When General Izard had been withdrawn from Plattsburg by order of the Secretary of War to join General Wilkinson, the Third Brigade of the Third Division of the Vermont militia, under Lieut. Col. Luther Dixon, was sent across the lake to take the place, in part, of the regulars ordered away.

Governor Chittenden issued a proclamation on November 10, 1813, ordering these troops to return to the State, and to hold themselves in readiness to act under the orders of Gen. Jacob Davis, claiming that "an extensive section of our own frontier is left unprotected," and that the citizens were "exposed to the retaliatory incursions and ravages of an exasperated enemy." He closed the proclamation by declaring that in his opinion

"the military strength and resources of this State must be reserved for its own defence and protection exclusively excepting in cases provided for by the Constitution of the U. States; and then, under orders derived only from the Commander-in-chief."

Colonel Dixon and seventeen of his officers replied in a vigorous statement, written by Capt. Sanford Gadcomb of St. Albans, which was, in part, as follows: "With due deference to your Excellency's opinion, we humbly conceive, that when we are ordered into the service of the United States, it becomes our duty, when required, to march to the defence of any section of the Union. We are not of that class who believe that our duties as citizens or soldiers are circumscribed within the narrow limits of the Town or State in which we reside, but that we are under a paramount obligation to our common country, to the great confederation of States. We further conceive that, while we are in actual service, and during the period for which we were ordered into service, your Excellency's power over us as Governor of the State of Vermont, is suspended. * * * Viewing the subject in this light, we conceive it our duty to declare unequivocally to your Excellency, that we shall not obey your Excellency's order for returning, but shall continue in the service of our country until we are legally and honorably discharged. An invitation or order to desert the standard of our country will never be obeyed by us, although it proceeds from the Governor and Captain General of Vermont. * * *

"We shall take the liberty to state to your Excellency, plainly, our sentiments on this subject. We consider

your proclamation as a gross insult to the officers and soldiers in the service, inasmuch as it implies that they are so ignorant of their rights as to believe that you have authority to command them in their present situation, or so abandoned as to follow your insidious advice. We cannot regard your proclamation in any other light, than as an unwarrantable stretch of executive authority, issued from the worst motives, to effect the basest purposes. It is in our opinion a renewed instance of that spirit of disorganization and anarchy which is carried on by a faction to overwhelm our country with disgrace. We cannot perceive what other object your Excellency could have in view than to embarrass the operations of the army, to excite mutiny and sedition among the soldiers and induce them to desert, that they might forfeit the wages to which they are entitled for their patriotic services." The statement added that even the soldiers regarded the Governor's proclamation "with mingled emotions of pity and contempt for its author, and as a striking monument of his folly."

It is said that the messenger sent to Plattsburg by Governor Chittenden to deliver this proclamation was helped in ignominious fashion out of camp. The brigade remained at Plattsburg until it was known that the threatened invasion from Canada had been abandoned for the winter.

Governor Chittenden's proclamation was denounced in Congress by Congressman Sharp of Kentucky, who offered the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the militia of these United States, or the Territories thereof, when lawfully employed in the

service of the United States, are subject to the same rules and articles as the troops of the United States.

"Resolved, That every person not subject to the rules and articles of war, who shall procure or entice a soldier in the service of the United States to desert, is guilty of an infraction of the laws of the United States and subject to punishment.

"Resolved, That His Excellency Martin Chittenden, Governor of the State of Vermont, by issuing his proclamation, dated at Montpelier, on the 10th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1813, did entice soldiers in the service of the United States to desert. Therefore,

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to instruct the Attorney General of the United States to institute a prosecution against said Martin Chittenden."

Congressman Fisk of Vermont expressed his regret that these resolutions had been offered. He admitted that Governor Chittenden's act was unjustifiable, declared that none of the Vermont delegation and very few of the people of Vermont approved it, but thought it was not the duty of Congress to act the part of informer against the Governor of a State. He therefore moved that the resolutions lie on the table. After some further discussion the subject was dropped and the resolutions were not further considered. While these resolutions were pending in Congress a resolution offered in the Legislature of Massachusetts protested against such an indignity to a State and its Governor and declared that when Vermont requested aid Massachusetts would

"make provision by law for effectual support." It was not actually passed because Congress did not attempt to discipline Vermont's Governor, but its warning was significant.

Late in December, fearing once more that an attack from Canada was being planned, the Plattsburg town officials wrote to General Wilkinson, setting forth the exposed condition of public property there, and the need of more troops. In response to this appeal a company of dragoons from Burlington and a detachment of infantry from Chateaugay Four Corners were ordered there, the infantry reaching Plattsburg January 8, 1814, after a forced march of forty miles, made in one day. On January 10 General Wilkinson arrived at that place.

The results of the land campaign were not such as to add to the prestige of American arms, and Hampton and Wilkinson laid upon each other the blame for failure to make any substantial progress.

Early in March, 1814, Major Forsyth was sent to the border with three hundred American riflemen and sixty dragoons to break up an irregular intercourse that had been carried on with the British troops during the winter. Parties under General Macomb and Colonel Clark were sent to the Vermont frontier on a similar errand, while General Wilkinson planned to erect batteries in the vicinity of Rouses Point that should command the outlet of the lake. Colonel Clark advanced within six miles of Isle aux Noix, captured the enemy's advanced guard, took sixty stands of arms and a quantity of ammunition, and returned to Missisquoi Bay.

Orders were issued that private property must be respected.

Alarmed by the American activity the British commander sent six hundred men under Major Hancock to Lacolle, Que., and two thousand troops were ordered to St. Johns and Isle aux Noix under Lieutenant Colonel Williams. General Wilkinson ordered the Plattsburg garrison to advance to Champlain, and Macomb and Clark were directed to join the main body of the American troops there.

On the morning of March 30 the American army, four thousand strong, advanced for an attack upon Lacolle. Fallen trees and snowdrifts made the roads almost impassable for artillery. Major Hancock occupied a stone mill, which had been pierced with openings for muskets. The American artillery fire was without appreciable effect. Two British sorties were defeated, but Wilkinson's attack was unsuccessful, and he retired to Odelltown, falling back the next day to Champlain. General Macomb returned to Burlington, while the main body of the army retired to Chazy and Plattsburg. The American casualties on this expedition amounted to one hundred and four killed and wounded. The British gave their losses as ten killed and forty-six wounded.

About the first of May Generals Chandler and Winchester arrived in Burlington from Canada where they had been detained for some time by the enemy as hostages.

An indication of possible friction between soldiers and citizens is found in a report of a meeting of officers held

on May 20, 1814, which drew up resolutions denying a statement, said to have been circulated, to the effect that plans had been made to burn certain houses in the village of Burlington. These resolutions were signed by Gen. Alexander Macomb and sixty-three other officers.

Macdonough had chosen Vergennes as his winter quarters after careful deliberation. He needed a location protected from forays by the enemy, and accessible to abundant supplies of timber. Vergennes was situated at the head of navigation on Otter Creek, seven miles from its mouth. The stream was so narrow and crooked that a hostile fleet could not hope to make a successful attack. A direct road led to Burlington, twenty-one miles away, where a large body of American troops was stationed. Another road led to Boston, and still another to the south. Dead Creek and marshes protected Vergennes from a land attack from the west. An abundance of timber for shipbuilding was available, and iron could be obtained from the neighboring town of Bristol. The industries of Vergennes included eight forges, a blast furnace, an air furnace, a rolling mill, a wire factory, and grist, saw, and fulling mills. Before the campaign of 1814 opened, one thousand 32-pound cannon balls had been cast here for the American fleet.

In an order issued on January 28, Macdonough was directed to build about fifteen gunboats, or a ship and three or four gunboats, the matter being left for him to decide. His instructions read: "The object is to leave no doubt of your commanding the lake and the waters connected, and that in due time. You are there-

fore authorized to employ such means and workmen as shall render its accomplishment certain."

Mr. Browne, a New York shipbuilder, had agreed to launch a ship of twenty-four guns in sixty days and in the spring of 1814 the work of constructing several vessels was begun in earnest. In five and one-half days one hundred and ten men had cut and forwarded timber for three ships. The trees were standing in the forest on March 2. The *Saratoga's* keel was laid on March 7, and on April 11 she was launched, forty days from the time her timbers stood as growing trees on a Vermont hillside.

While the ships were being built at Vergennes, General Wilkinson was apprehensive of a British attack upon Plattsburg, Burlington, and Vergennes, and on April 9 he ordered General Macomb, who was stationed at Burlington, to request Governor Chittenden to call out the Vermont militia, not only to protect the shipping on Otter Creek, but to reinforce Macomb's army. The Governor immediately complied with the request, sending one thousand men to Vergennes and five hundred to Burlington, these troops being militia from Addison, Chittenden and Franklin counties. Wilkinson feared that the enemy would seize some of the lake craft, load them with stones, and sink them at the mouth of Otter Creek, thus bottling up Macdonough's fleet. To guard against this contingency the American naval commander erected a battery at the mouth of the stream which, at a later period, was called Fort Cassin.

Between April 16 and April 20 Governor Chittenden and General Wilkinson visited Macdonough at Ver-

gennes to consider measures for the protection of the new fleet. The site for the battery was selected by Wilkinson and Macdonough. On April 22, five hundred soldiers having arrived at Vergennes from Plattsburg, Governor Chittenden discharged all the Vermont militia but Capt. William C. Munson's Panton company, with orders to turn out upon hearing the alarm signal of three heavy guns.

As early as April 2 the northern end of the lake was free from ice and on that day several British vessels anchored near Rouses Point. Capt. Daniel Pring entered the lake on May 9 with the new 16-gun brig *Linnet,* five sloops and thirteen galleys. The next day the British fleet anchored in the shelter of Providence Island, near the southern end of South Hero. The presence of this flotilla caused the greatest excitement in all the Champlain valley. During the night of May 10 the Selectmen of the lake towns worked until morning running bullets, and the militia was called out. Gen. George Izard, commanding the American forces at Plattsburg, had notified General Macomb at Burlington on May 10 of the approach of the enemy. Late that night Macomb dispatched a messenger to Vergennes and Captain Thornton, with a force of fifty light artillerymen, was sent in haste in wagons from Burlington to Vergennes to operate the battery. Macdonough had mounted seven 12-pounders on ship carriages at the mouth of Otter Creek. Lieutenant Cassin, a detachment of sailors, and a body of soldiers under Colonel Davis, were posted in a manner best calculated to prevent a landing by the enemy.

Pring's fleet appeared off Burlington on April 12, was sighted off Essex, N. Y., the afternoon of April 13, and very early on the morning of April 14 appeared off the mouth of Otter Creek. Approaching within two and one-half miles of the battery, the enemy opened fire, the engagement lasting an hour and a half. Many shells lodged in the parapet of Fort Cassin, one gun was dismounted, and two men were slightly injured. Several British galleys were damaged, and two large rowboats, shot adrift during the action, were picked up by the Americans. Strenuous efforts were made to bring several of the new ships down the tortuous course of Otter Creek in time for use against the enemy but the foe had departed before this was effected. Pring drew his fleet off to the northward, having been unable to inflict any damage upon Macdonough's flotilla.

There had been great difficulty in securing the necessary equipment for the American fleet. Rodney Macdonough, in his "Life of Thomas Macdonough," says: "When the *Saratoga* was launched neither her guns, anchors, cables nor rigging had been received. The roads were so bad that the heavy loading of transport wagons was impossible. It took eighty teams to carry one consignment of naval stores from Troy to Vergennes, and then three large cables were left behind. A large quantity of shot was brought from Boston." There was also a shortage of men for the vessels, and about the middle of April General Macomb sent four hundred Vermont soldiers to Macdonough at Vergennes.

One of the vessels, the *Ticonderoga*, originally had been designed for a steamboat. As it was not consid-

The Vermont Flag

ered wise to attempt to propel a warship by steam, she was rigged as a schooner. On May 26 Macdonough entered the lake with his flagship *Saratoga,* twenty-six guns; the schooner *Ticonderoga,* sixteen guns; the sloop *Preble,* nine guns; and six gunboats, armed with two guns each. Afterward the fleet was augmented by the addition of the sloop *President,* ten guns; the sloop *Montgomery,* six guns; and five gunboats with one gun each. These gunboats were seventy-five feet long, fifteen feet wide, and could be rowed by forty oarsmen.

Proceeding to Plattsburg, where Macdonough arrived on May 29, he was requested to protect the transports which were removing troops and stores from Burlington to that place, General Izard having decided to encamp near the Canadian border. During the summer the American fleet guarded the mouth of the Richelieu to prevent the British ships from entering the lake. Admiral Mahan has said: "Macdonough's superiority during the three summer months gave the Americans unmolested use of the lake for the transport of troops,—almost wholly militia,—of stores, and of all things available for the land defense of Plattsburg."

Fearing that Macdonough's squadron was sufficiently strong to give him the mastery of the lake, the British prepared in June to build a vessel at Isle aux Noix that at least should match the *Saratoga* and on August 25 the frigate *Confiance,* carrying thirty-seven guns, was launched.

Meanwhile the American fleet was strengthened by building another brig at Vergennes. The keel of the *Eagle* was laid on July 23, she was launched August 11,

and on August 27 she joined the American fleet anchored off Chazy. Her armament consisted of twenty guns. Former Assistant Secretary of the Navy Charles H. Darling, in writing of Macdonough's fleet, has said that "the *Eagle* was substantially of the same size as Perry's flagships *Lawrence* and *Niagara* on Lake Erie, while the *Saratoga* was much superior to Perry's largest vessel. The time in which Perry built his ships has often been mentioned in praise and wonder, but Macdonough's ships were not only of larger tonnage but were built and completed in a shorter time."

During the latter part of June the American army advanced from Plattsburg to Champlain and Chazy, N. Y., the British having concentrated their troops at Lacolle, Que., and other points near the line. Macdonough anchored his fleet in King's Bay, north of the mouth of Big Chazy River.

Lieut. Col. Benjamin Forsyth, called the best partisan leader in the American army, having led a scouting party across the boundary line, with the intention of drawing the enemy into an ambuscade, was shot by an Indian and killed. He was succeeded by Maj. Orsamus C. Merrill of Bennington, and Major Merrill's successor was Capt. Zachary Taylor, afterward one of the famous commanders of the Mexican War, and President of the United States. Some Vermonters were engaged in the battles of Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie.

During the evening of August 16, 1814, Lieutenant Drury of the American Navy landed at Isle La Motte and proceeded to the inn of Caleb Hill, who was an Assistant Judge of Grand Isle County Court. The men

called for rum and supposing that they were part of a British detachment, Judge Hill and one of his sons armed themselves, levelled their pieces and demanded that the men surrender. Drury parried a gun with his sword, and several of the sailors fired at the Judge. One ball passed through his head and another through his body, killing him.

The military situation along the northern frontier, as the summer of 1814 drew to a close, was indeed a serious one. As a result of Napoleon's overthrow, it had been possible to send to Canada fifteen thousand troops, most of them Wellington's veterans. Lieut. Gen. Sir George Prevost now had under his command in Canada more than thirty thousand troops. All of these, with the exception of two thousand provincials, were regulars and veterans of the European wars. A British force of fourteen thousand men was concentrated at Isle aux Noix. The American force was greatly inferior, but in spite of this fact, the Secretary of War ordered General Izard to march four thousand troops to the Niagara frontier. Izard obeyed, like a good soldier; but he warned his chief that the enemy on his front was greatly superior to the American force, that an attack was hourly expected, and that everything in the vicinity of the Champlain frontier with the exception of the works at Plattsburg and Cumberland Head would be in the possession of the British troops in less than three days after his departure. General Izard withdrew from Champlain and Chazy on August 29 and on August 30 General Brisbane of the British army took possession of Champlain. To oppose an army of 14,000 of Wel-

lington's veterans, General Macomb had 3,400 men, 1,400 of whom were ill. Of this handful of 2,000 soldiers, only 1,500 were regulars. This force included two Vermont regiments, the Thirtieth, under Colonel Fassett, and the Thirty-first, under Colonel Dana.

Prevost's plan in its general features followed that of Burgoyne, carried into effect thirty-seven years earlier. With a strong naval force and a superior army the way seemed clear to defeat the Americans, gain possession of Lake Champlain, and drive a wedge deep into New England and New York. Arriving on American soil, General Prevost issued a proclamation from Champlain, N. Y., dated September 2, promising kind and generous treatment to those persons who remained quietly at their homes, not bearing arms or aiding hostile movements.

Macomb's first act was to call for reinforcements from New York and Vermont. In his letter to Governor Chittenden, dated at Plattsburg, August 31, he notified him that the enemy were advancing and suggested that a detachment might be sent across Lake Champlain, advancing northward from Essex, N. Y. Another letter from Macomb notified Vermont's Governor that the enemy was expected to march toward Plattsburg that day. On the same day Governor Chittenden replied that he would "take the most effectual measures to furnish such number of volunteers as may be induced to turn out to your assistance."

The Governor immediately transmitted a copy of General Macomb's letter to Gen. John Newell at Charlotte, and recommended that he take the most effectual method to procure as many volunteers as possible from his

brigade for the immediate assistance of General Macomb, and that they cross the lake at McNeil's ferry in Charlotte. General Newell did not approve the form of the Governor's letter, and replied on the following day, expressing regret that a positive order had not been issued, directing that the militia be marched to Plattsburg. Governor Chittenden did not believe that he had the right to order the Vermont militia out of the State, and it may be that General Newell's reply reflected to some extent the political animosities of that period. The Governor clearly stated that it was his desire "that every aid, constitutionally in our power, should be afforded"; and he expressed the belief that a request for volunteers would prove more effective than the assumption of what he considered unauthorized power. Gen. Samuel Strong of Vergennes was given command of the Vermont troops and Governor Chittenden gave him a letter to General Macomb recommending him as an old and experienced officer, "in whose judgment and integrity the fullest confidence might be placed."

Although the methods of communication were slow, the news of the British advance spread with the greatest rapidity possible under existing circumstances, and volunteers in large numbers started for Lake Champlain and Plattsburg. And well they might hasten toward Burlington, as their ancestors rallied at Bennington, for their farms and firesides again were in danger. The whole State of Vermont was open to attack by an army of veteran troops if Plattsburg surrendered. The peril was so great that political animosities might well be forgotten.

Men assembled at Burlington from various parts of the State without any regular call, on hearing that the British were approaching Plattsburg. The earlier arrivals crossed the lake in all manner of craft, and were able to take part in the battle. Others arrived too late for the fighting, while the latest arrivals proceeded no further than Burlington. After freeman's meeting at St. Albans, a company of eighty men enlisted, and started at once for Plattsburg, going by way of the natural bar of sand, deposited by the Lamoille River, on which in later years the Sand Bar Bridge was built, connecting the towns of Milton and South Hero, the latter being the southernmost town of Grand Isle county. A fresh wind was blowing when the company crossed, making the passage somewhat dangerous. A company from Georgia followed the same route, in wagons, fording the lake by way of the Sand Bar. The attempt of the Georgia company to cross to South Hero was made after dark. The wagons became entangled in logs and stumps that had drifted upon the bar of sand and the volunteers were obliged to wade into the water to their armpits to extricate the vehicles. While engaged in this task an alarm was given that British barges were approaching. The men were ordered to halt, form as good a line as conditions would permit, load their muskets and prepare to resist the enemy. It was soon found that the alarm was false and the company proceeded to the island shore in safety. On the following day the men were ferried to Plattsburg from the west shore of Grand Isle. The Sheldon company did not reach Plattsburg in time

for the battle, but was used to guard prisoners at Crab Island.

Rev. Benjamin Wooster of Sheldon, finding that some of the men of that town were reluctant to enlist, presented himself as a volunteer and called upon his parishioners to follow him. The company was soon filled and the pastor was chosen to command it. At Plattsburg the clergyman led his company into battle and fought bravely through the engagement. Later General Strong called the attention of Governor Tompkins of New York to the services of the Vermont clergyman. As a token of appreciation the Empire State executive sent to Mr. Wooster as a present, "an elegant folio, full gilt Family Bible with an appropriate letter inscribed on one of its pages." On July 4, 1815, Mr. Wooster called his company together, showed them his present and delivered an appropriate address.

A party of men and boys worked all night at Middlebury to prepare a company for service at Plattsburg, and the sum of two hundred and ninety-five dollars was raised for ammunition and equipment. One detachment reached its destination the night before the battle, another the morning of the engagement, and a third after the fighting had ceased. Fifty-two men of Topsham responded to the alarm. They encamped at Montpelier the first night out. On the following day they met a man at Richmond distributing handbills which told that the fighting was over, and the victory had been won.

On Sunday, September 11, 1814, a messenger arrived at the town of Ira, entered the church in the midst of

the sermon, and announced that Plattsburg was being attacked by an army from Canada and that volunteers were needed. The service was dismissed and twenty-six men enlisted from Ira and Clarendon. Early the next morning they started for Plattsburg, but when they reached Vergennes they learned that the enemy had been defeated, and they returned home.

On Friday, September 9, the news reached Shoreham that the British were advancing upon Plattsburg. There was little sleep in the town that night. Couriers were sent to remote parts of the town. Blacksmiths worked night and day to fit a company of cavalry for service. The women of the various households hastened to prepare clothing and provisions. Farmers were preparing for the fall sowing of grain, and some of them left their ploughs in the fields and travelled all night to reach the place of meeting. Two companies of infantry were merged in one. The companies of infantry and cavalry reached Burlington on Saturday evening. The next morning three ships were ready to transport volunteers, and on one of these the men from Shoreham embarked. As the ship approached Plattsburg those on board could see the flashes from the guns of the opposing fleets. As the firing ceased they were unable to tell which side had won until a little sail boat bearing the Stars and Stripes approached with orders from Macdonough, announcing the victory and directing them to land at Peru.

It is said that practically all the able bodied men of Burlington and vicinity crossed the lake to join the American forces. The issue of the *Burlington Sentinel*

of September 9 consisted of one sheet, printed on only one side, and contained this explanatory statement: "The circumstances of the hands of this office being at Plattsburg is our only apology for the appearance of this day's paper." Senator Foot, in a speech delivered many years later, in describing the response to the alarm sent out before the battle of Plattsburg, said: "The farmers left their harvest in the field; all classes of people left their employment and their homes and went to the scene of danger and conflict."

A detailed account of the land and naval battle of Plattsburg belongs to a history of New York rather than in a record of Vermont events, but the part taken by Vermonters deserves mention.

The defences of Plattsburg included three forts on the right bank of the Saranac River, one of which, Fort Brown, was garrisoned by detachments of Vermonters from the Thirtieth and Thirty-first regiments of infantry, under the command of Lieut. Col. Huckins Storrs. Vermont soldiers from the same regiments served under Major, afterward General, Wool, as skirmishers, in checking the British advance. The enemy was too strong to resist, and the Americans retired across the Saranac River, taking up the bridges behind them, and using the planks for breastworks. General Macomb was successful in holding back the enemy and in inspiring his troops with courage. From September 7 to September 10, the British commander was engaged in bringing up his artillery and supplies and preparing for a siege. During this period volunteers from Vermont and New York were arriving in large numbers. On

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September 10 General Strong reported to Governor Chittenden that 1,812 of the Vermont militia, well armed, were at Plattsburg. On the following day the number had increased to 2,500, a larger number probably, than the United States regulars and New York volunteers, combined.

Governor Chittenden sent to Plattsburg his military aid, Amos W. Barnum, and Samuel Swift, secretary to the Governor and Council, in order to keep in touch with General Strong, who commanded the Vermont militia.

The command of the British squadron had been given to Capt. George Downie, who had been summoned from Lake Ontario, where he had commanded the ship *Montreal.* Capt. Daniel Pring with a flotilla of British gunboats left Isle aux Noix on September 3, and proceeded as far as Isle La Motte. Here, according to his official report, he took possession and paroled the militia of the island. Then he erected a battery of three long 18-pounder guns, to protect a position "abreast of Little Chazy, where supplies for the army were to be landed." Captain Downie with the remainder of the fleet followed a few days later, the flagship grounding as she came out of the Richelieu River. She was floated without injury and the ships joined the gunboats at Isle La Motte on September 8. It was necessary to wait until Sunday, September 11, before the needed stores were secured. Leaving Isle La Motte at daylight on September 11, with a northeast breeze, the American fleet was sighted at Plattsburg at 7 o'clock that morning.

The following account of the naval battle of Plattsburg, printed originally by the *Burlington Sentinel* as a handbill, was revised and published in the regular issue of September 16: "On Sunday, the ever memorable 11th of September, the enemy's squadron was discovered about 8 o'clock A. M., standing up the lake with a favorable breeze under a press of sail. Every preparation was made by our gallant Commodore to give them a warm and cordial reception; with his squadron at anchor he awaited their approach. The enemy soon made their appearance off Cumberland Head and bore down for our squadron—the enemy's two largest vessels taking a position to attack the *Saratoga*, our flagship. The first broadside from her killed the British Commodore (Downie) and her fire continued so spirited and well directed that the enemy's flagship, the *Confiance*, soon after struck. At this time the whole broadside guns of the *Saratoga* next to the enemy were completely unmanageable. The enemy's brig continued her fire. Our Commodore slipped his cable and wore round; two broadsides compelled the brig to follow the example of the *Confiance*. In the meantime the *Preble* compelled one of the enemy's sloops to strike. The other grounded Hospital Island just before the battle ended, and was taken possession of by some of our Gallies. The enemy's Gallies, except two which were sunk, with the assistance of their oars, effected their escape.

"The slaughter on board the British fleet was immense. The *Confiance* alone had 110 killed and wounded. Our loss is severe—56 men killed and wounded on board the *Saratoga*—Commodore Mac-

donough himself was three times knocked down by the splinters and falling spars and blocks, but escaped with trifling injury. The loss on either side it is difficult and as yet impossible to ascertain. The comparative loss of the enemy with ours is stated at two to one.

"The British fleet consisted of fifteen vessels, viz.:—

The *Confiance,* mounting	39 guns
The *Linnet,* mounting	16 guns
The *Chub,* mounting	11 guns
The *Finch,* mounting	11 guns
11 Gallies, mounting	16 guns
	93 guns

"Our fleet of fourteen vessels, viz.:—

The *Saratoga,* mounting	26 guns
The *Eagle,* mounting	20 guns
The *Ticonderoga,* mounting	17 guns
The *Com. Preble,* mounting	7 guns
6 Gallies, 2 each	12 guns
4 Gallies, 1 each	4 guns
	86 guns

"On the result of this most glorious victory comment is unnecessary. The names of Macdonough and of his gallant officers, will be inserted among those of Decatur, Hull, Perry, Bainbridge, Porter and Jones, and like them will be held in everlasting remembrance.

"The enemy under Sir George Prevost, amounting to 14,000 regulars and embodied militia, in four brigades commanded by Major Generals De Rottenburgh, Powers, Brisbane and Robinson, appeared before our

works at Plattsburg, and after bombarding, cannonading and rocket firing were obliged to retreat in the night of Sunday last, in great confusion, leaving a number of their tents, several pieces of cannon, great quantities of ammunition, bombs, cannon balls, grape shot, fixed cartridges, shovels, spades, axes, pickaxes, bread, flour, beef, etc., etc. in our possession, together with all their sick and wounded to our mercy. The gallantry of General Macomb, his subalterns and brave regulars (not exceeding 1,500), have never been exceeded. Not a pallid cheek was seen during the whole affair, notwithstanding the showers of shot, shells and rockets which were directed at our works. On silencing the enemy's battery the second time, Sir George made his escape with his life guard, while we were playing the tune of Yankee Doodle.

"The militia, thirty-two hundred, without distinction of party or age, in every instance have distinguished themselves. The Vermont volunteers have behaved with the coolness of regulars, and their conduct has fulfilled the expectations which the promptness and spirit with which they turned out had raised.

"The enemy in their flight destroyed all the bridges and obstructed the road by trees, baggage, etc. They were, however, pursued as far as Chazy, but on account of the obstructions of the road and their precipient (precipitate) retreat, our heroes were not able to overtake them. The enemy have learnt a lesson long to be remembered, that the 'soil of Freedom is sacred, and that it must not, shall not, be polluted with impunity.' In this their expedition by land and water, we can account

to Sir George for more than two thousand of his men killed and prisoners, and more than ninety pieces of cannon.

"To the interposition of heaven, be ascribed our glorious victory."

When the British fleet appeared off Cumberland Head, General Prevost ordered two brigades to force the Saranac fords and attack the American forts. At one ford guarded by New York militia, several companies of British soldiers effected a crossing, and drove the Americans toward the Salmon River, where a large number of Vermont troops and a company of artillery reinforced the fleeing militia. The attacking force was compelled to withdraw. One British company lost its way and was surrounded by Vermont and New York militia. It is related that during the land battle of September 11, Captain Safford of the Vermont militia and his men, with others, took possession of an old stone grist mill, and their firing as sharpshooters silenced the British batteries upon the bank of the lake, on the opposite side of the river. The St. Albans company aided in repulsing an attack at Pike's cantonment.

Two hundred and forty of the men of Orwell marched to Plattsburg when the first alarm was given and tendered their services to the commanding officer. Among the Orwell volunteers was a small cavalry detachment of about twenty men raised by Captains Scovell of Orwell and Ketchum of Sudbury, and commanded by the former, in which some of the prominent citizens of the vicinity were enrolled. On their arrival they found that the enemy were retreating, and without waiting for

orders, or to be joined by other forces, they pursued them, surprised the rear guard at Chazy, captured seven dragoons with their horses and equipment, and the contents of two baggage wagons.

The town of Hartland furnished one hundred and fifty regulars and organized a company of one hundred exempts.

Timothy Chipman of Shoreham, a veteran of the Revolution, and a Major General of the Vermont militia, volunteered as a private, as his commission was in force in this State, took a musket, and crossed the lake. He was appointed a Brigadier General under General Strong and was given command of Vermont volunteers.

Most of the inhabitants of the town of Grand Isle, not in the battle, assembled on the west shore of the island to witness the naval engagement, and some of the more adventurous crossed in small boats to Cumberland Head to get a better view. The people of St. Albans assembled on a hilltop on Sunday morning, from which point the British could be seen as they approached Plattsburg. The sound of the cannonading could be heard, but the result of the battle was not known until a horseman passed through the town after sunset, bringing the news of victory. The roar of the guns was heard plainly at Burlington and the smoke of the battle could be seen. In the afternoon the news of the battle was received.

Following the account of the battle in the *Burlington Sentinel*, that paper said: "Our village last evening presented a most brilliant spectacle. Every house was illuminated which, with the ringing of bells, discharges

of musketry, and salutes of ordnance from the wharf and encampment, proclaimed the joy of our citizens and their gratitude to their heroic deliverers."

Most of the Vermont militia returned home on Monday, September 12, but owing to lack of transportation facilities the St. Albans company was delayed until Wednesday, September 14. A public dinner was given that evening, a torchlight procession was held, and it is recorded that members of both political parties participated in the rejoicing.

The booming of cannon announcing the victory was supposed by some persons to be the firing of British ships coming up the lake.

A letter from Secretary of War James Monroe, and addressed to Governor Chittenden, dated September 15, four days after the victory at Plattsburg, called attention to General Macomb's danger, and asked for reinforcements of not less than two thousand Vermont troops.

In his report to the Secretary of War, describing the battle of Plattsburg, General Macomb declared that "the volunteers of Vermont were exceedingly serviceable."

Governor Chittenden, on September 19, issued a proclamation in which he referred in terms of the highest praise to the victors of the land and naval battles at Plattsburg. He took occasion to call attention to the fact that "the British army is still on the frontier of our sister State, collecting and concentrating a powerful force, indicating further operations of aggression. To this he added the following:

"And, whereas the conflict has become a common and not a party concern, the time has now arrived when all degrading party distinctions and animosities, however we may have differed respecting the policy of declaring, or the mode of prosecuting the war, ought to be laid aside; that every heart may be stimulated, and every arm nerved for the protection of our common country, our liberty, our altars, and our firesides, in the defence of which we may, with a humble confidence, look to Heaven for assistance and protection.

"Now, therefore, I, Martin Chittenden, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the State of Vermont, do issue this proclamation, earnestly exorting all the good people of this State by that love of country which so signally distinguished our fathers in their glorious and successful struggle for our independence, to unite both heart and hand in defence of our common interest and everything dear to freemen.

"I do enjoin it upon all officers of divisions, brigades, regiments and companies of the militia of this State to exert themselves in the exercise of their respective duties, in placing those under their command in a complete state of readiness, and without further order to march at a moment's warning to meet any invasion which may be attempted, and to chastise and expel the invader."

The Governor recommended that those persons exempt from military duty organize and equip themselves for purposes of defence, and that the town authorities be vigilant in the matter of providing ammunition.

In a letter addressed to Secretary of War James Monroe, and dated September 28, Governor Chittenden

wrote: "I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 15th inst. and have the great satisfaction to inform you that every object contemplated in your communication has been effected. Volunteers, to a much larger number than that mentioned in your request, turned out and crossed the lake to meet the enemy, without distinction of age, character or party, exhibiting a spirit and zeal for the defence of their country which reflects the highest honor on themselves and the country they have signally aided in defending. The glorious event of our success against a far superior force, both by land and water, is of the highest importance to this portion of the Union, and cannot fail so to be considered in a national point of view."

Soon after the victory at Plattsburg a committee of Burlington citizens was appointed to wait upon Macdonough, to express to the American naval commander the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens for "the gallantry and skill which had achieved the victory of the ever memorable 11th of September," and as a tribute of their gratitude, and a testimonial of their respect, to request the attendance of himself and his officers at a public dinner. Invitations were also extended to Governor Chittenden, to General Macomb, who had "gallantly defended his position against the overwhelming numbers of Sir George Prevost's conquerors of the veterans of France," and to General Strong. These invitations were accepted.

The *Burlington Sentinel* describes the visit in these words: "On Monday (September 26) at 5 o'clock P. M., the roar of artillery announced the arrival of the

Hero of Champlain with the gallant officers of his squadron and General Macomb and suite. They were greeted at their landing from the steamboat with loud and reiterated cheers from a large concourse of citizens assembled to welcome them. A procession was then formed—The American flag, under which our brave heroes so nobly fought, was raised, with the Union Jack of old England, once considered by all the world as the triumphant symbol of victory, waving underneath it. The Commodore, accompanied by the General, was seated in an elegant coach prepared for the occasion, preceded by the officers of the Navy and Army, when the procession, headed by an excellent band of music, escorted them to the Burlington Coffee House. During the whole movement of the procession reciprocal salutes were fired from the artillery on the wharf and on the Court House Square. The Commodore received these testimonials of the joy and gratitude of his fellow citizens with that modesty and dignity so conspicuous in his character. The evergreen sprig worn by our distinguished volunteers during the siege of Plattsburg decorated the hats of the Commodore, General and their respective officers. This handsome compliment was most sensibly felt and acknowledged with enthusiastic plaudits.

"On Tuesday, at 10 o'clock A. M., a procession consisting of an immense concourse of citizens of this and the neighboring towns was formed upon the Court House green, under the direction of Col. Seth Pomeroy, marshal of the day, assisted by Messrs. N. B. Haswell and G. Moore and escorted by a large and elegant company

of cavalry under the command of Capt. N. Newell, marched to the meeting house in the following order, viz.: Cavalry, two bands of music, citizens, Selectmen of the town and civil authority of the county, Judges of the County Court and Sheriff, officers of the Army, committee of arrangements, officers of the Navy, the reverend clergy, General Macomb and General Strong, Commodore Macdonough and His Excellency, the Governor."

After religious exercises, the procession formed again and proceeded to the hotel, where an elaborate dinner was served, attended by hundreds of guests. Dr. John Pomeroy was president of the day and among his assistants was C. P. Van Ness, afterward Governor of the State. The following toasts were drunk, "accompanied by heavy peals of artillery, reiterated cheers, and appropriate music from the bands":

"The 11th of September, 1814—The day on which our naval Hercules became of age.

"The Union of the States—Our happiness in peace; our security in war.

"The Government of the United States—May the head winds of party spirit no longer prevent them from laying their course directly for the port of public prosperity.

"American Sons of Ocean, Nature's Noblemen—In them every foe feels the paw of a lion, but the battle once ended, the heart of a lamb.

"Our Naval Heroes who are slain—The grass shall be ever green over their graves, watered by a Nation's tears. (Drunk standing.)

"The Army—May their success and reward equal their skill, courage and patriotism.

"Washington—Let his name never be omitted in the logbook of public festivities. (Drunk standing.)

"The patriotic volunteers of Vermont and New York —They have taught John Bull the second part of the tune of 'Saratoga'.

"Every surviving combatant in the late engagement.

"Foreign Invaders—The shade of Downie exclaims, 'Be ye also ready'.

"Sir George Prevost's Invasion—'The Duke of York with fifty thousand men, marched up the hill and then marched down again'.

"Our Late Successes in Upper Canada—The use of victories is to procure peace.

"The Heroes of the Revolution—The best tribute to their memories is to follow their examples. (Drunk standing.)

"The Gallant Commodore Chauncey—The British Lion is aware of Preble's pupil, and wisely keeps his den.

"Our Native Soil—May the vengeance of freemen blast the foe that would pollute it, and the arm be palsied which would not rise to defend it.

"Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures—Sources of our wealth and pillars of our strength.

"Peace with all the world upon just and honorable terms."

Commodore Macdonough offered this toast: "Commodore Chauncey—May his country soon be gratified with the first wish of his heart; a meeting with Sir

James Yeo." After Commodore Macdonough had retired Governor Chittenden offered this toast: "Commodore Macdonough—The Christian, the hero, the friend." General Macomb offered the following: "The Green Mountain Boys, or the troops Sir George Prevost mistook for General Izard's army in disguise." General Strong proposed this toast: "Freeman's Rights —May they be protected by us with the same spirit as they were procured and defended by our forefathers."

Following the account of this celebration are the words of a song, written by W. Loomis, entitled "Macdonough's Victory," and probably sung on this occasion. A part of the refrain is given herewith:

"And the wreath by Nelson worn
Shall Macdonough's brow adorn,
And the trump of fame
Shall sound his name
To ages yet unborn."

The day's festivities were ended with a ball in the evening, attended by Governor Chittenden, Commodore Macdonough, General Macomb, and other officers of the Army and Navy. The ball room was decorated with festoons of evergreen and flowers, and the motto in gold letters, "T. Macdonough, the Hero of Champlain." The British flag was displayed beneath the Stars and Stripes. It is recorded that "a brilliant assemblage of ladies from this and neighboring towns graced the evening with their attendance."

The fleet remained at Plattsburg Bay for some time. Repairs on Macdonough's vessels and on the captured

ships were necessary, and the mouth of the Richelieu River was closely guarded to prevent any return of the British gunboats. On October 2 the *Saratoga, Confiance, Ticonderoga* and *Linnet* left Plattsburg for Whitehall. As the *Saratoga* passed Burlington she fired a salute, "the last gun, probably, that she ever fired," says Rodney Macdonough. Late in October Macdonough went to Whitehall and made arrangements for laying up the ships there. The wounded were removed from Crab Island to Burlington in charge of Surgeon William Caton, Jr. Late in the year 1814 a British transport sloop loaded with ammunition and stores, which had been sunk off Isle La Motte, was raised.

On November 1, Macdonough turned over to Lieut. Charles A. Budd the command of the squadron. He remained at Whitehall on board the *Confiance,* however, for several weeks, leaving early in December for his home at Middletown, Conn.

Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to Macdonough, thanked him for his "decisive and splendid victory," and he was promoted from the rank of Master Commandant to that of Captain to date from September 11.

Admiral A. T. Mahan, the eminent naval authority, has called attention to the fact that twice in the history of the United States a naval force on Lake Champlain produced decisive results. Of the engagement at Plattsburg, he said: "The battle had saved the whole frontier for that year (1814); but more, it put an end to all British hopes of modifying conditions before peace.

* * * The battle of Plattsburg was decisive of the results of the war, so far as territorial and boundary demands were concerned."

Theodore Roosevelt said: "Macdonough in this battle won a higher fame than any other commander of the war, British or American. * * * His skill, seamanship, quick eye, readiness of resource, and indomitable pluck, are beyond all praise. Down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history."

The victory at Plattsburg meant much for the Nation, but it meant more for Vermont. It saved the State from occupation, perhaps from devastation by foreign troops. The invasion of Burgoyne was not repeated. Champlain did not become a British lake and Burlington was not garrisoned by the King's troops.

The Council of Censors, elected in 1813, consisted of Nathaniel Chipman of Tinmouth, Isaac Tichenor of Bennington, David Edmond of Vergennes, Daniel Farrand of Newbury, Ebenezer Clark of Lunenburg, Isaac Bayley of Newbury, Nicholas Baylies of Montpelier, Solomon Bingham of Fairfield, William Hall, Jr., of Rockingham, Luther Jewett of St. Johnsbury, Charles Marsh of Woodstock, Elijah Strong of Brownington and Robert Temple of Rutland. All were Federalists except the last named member. Ex-Governor Tichenor was elected president and sessions were held at Montpelier, June 2-4 and October 14-November 1, 1813, and at Middlebury, January 19-24, 1814. Many constitutional amendments were proposed. Among the most important were the substitution of an elective Senate of

twenty-four members in place of the Executive Council, the term to be three years, one-third retiring each year; the Judges of the Supreme Court to serve during good behavior, subject to removal from office by a two-thirds vote of both branches of the Legislature; and a provision prohibiting the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus under any circumstances. The Republicans were strongly opposed to the proposed amendments and meetings were held protesting against their adoption. A convention called to consider these proposals was held at Montpelier June 7-9, 1814, and twenty-three amendments were defeated without a dissenting vote. Only 20 votes were cast in favor of a Senate, while 188 were opposed to it. The habeas corpus amendment was supported by 51 members, while 156 opposed it.

On September 28, 1814, Congressman Fisk of Vermont offered a resolution providing that the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to inquire into the expediency of giving to each deserter from the British army during the war one hundred acres of public lands, provided actual settlement was made. The House rejected the motion of Congressman Bradley of Vermont to table the resolution, and adopted it by a vote of 80 to 55.

There was no choice for Governor or Lieutenant Governor in the fall of 1814, but this time the Federalists had a slight lead in the popular vote, which was as follows: Martin Chittenden (Fed.), 17,466; Jonas Galusha (Rep.), 17,411; scattering, 451. The Federalists controlled the Legislature, having elected the members of the Council, and Daniel Chipman again was

chosen Speaker of the Assembly. The Legislature on joint ballot reelected Governor Chittenden and Lieutenant Governor Chamberlain by a majority of twenty-nine on joint ballot.

One of the most striking examples of political retribution in Vermont history was the election in 1814 of six Federalist Congressmen. The Republicans had amended the law, which had provided for election by districts, and had substituted an act by the terms of which all members of Congress were chosen on a general ticket, apparently, as claimed by their opponents, to prevent the occasional election of one or two Federalist members. At the first election following the enactment of this law every Republican candidate was defeated. Had the district law remained in force it is altogether probable, the vote being very close, that several Congressmen in sympathy with the Madison administration would have been chosen. To complete the measure of victory the Federalists elected Isaac Tichenor United States Senator for a full term of six years to succeed Jonathan Robinson. That the Federalists should have been able, even by narrow majorities, to make a clean sweep of the State at this time, indicates widespread dissatisfaction with the administration's war policy and its conduct of military affairs.

Daniel Chipman, one of the new Congressmen, was the youngest brother of Judge Nathaniel Chipman, and was born at Salisbury, Conn., October 22, 1765. He removed with his father to Tinmouth in 1775 and in 1788 was graduated from Dartmouth College. He studied law with his brother, was admitted to the bar,

began practice in Rutland, but removed to Middlebury in 1794. From 1806 to 1816 he was professor of law in Middlebury College. He represented Middlebury in the Legislature, 1798-1800, in 1802, 1804, 1806-08, 1812-14, in 1818 and in 1821. In 1813 and 1814 he was Speaker and in 1808 resigned from the Assembly to serve on the Executive Council. He was State's Attorney for Addison county, 1797-1817. He was a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1793, 1814, 1836, 1843, and 1850. He was an able and vigorous debater and for fifty-three years was active in public affairs. His published works include an "Essay on the Law of Contracts," "Reports of the Supreme Court of Vermont, 1789-1825," "Life of Nathaniel Chipman," "Memoir of Seth Warner," and "Memoir of Thomas Chittenden." He died April 23, 1850, aged eighty-five years.

Luther Jewett, member of Congress, was born at Canterbury, Conn., in 1772, was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1792, and came to St. Johnsbury in 1800, where he began the practice of medicine. For ten years he was a preacher. He served one term in Congress, sitting by the side of Daniel Webster, then serving his second term in the House. In 1827 he established an Anti-Masonic newspaper, *The Friend,* the first to be published in St. Johnsbury. In 1828 he founded a Whig newspaper, *The Farmer's Herald.* Daniel Webster visited him in 1830. In 1836 he was a member of the Vermont Constitutional Convention. He died in 1860, aged eighty-seven years.

Chauncey Langdon, member of Congress, was born at Farmington, Conn., November 8, 1763. He was graduated at Yale College in 1787, studied law at Litchfield, Conn., and came to Vermont in 1788, settling first at Windsor, and removing a little later to Castleton. He was Register of Probate, 1792-97, and Judge of Probate, 1798-99. He represented Castleton in the Legislature in 1813-14, 1819-20, and 1822. He was a member of the Executive Council in 1808 and 1823-29. He was a trustee of Middlebury College for nineteen years. He died July 23, 1830.

Asa Lyon, member of Congress, was born at Pomfret, Conn., December 31, 1763. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1790 and entered the Congregational ministry, being pastor of a church at Sunderland, Mass., 1792-93. He organized the Congregational Church at South Hero and Grand Isle and served as its pastor for forty years. For a considerable part of this time he served without a salary, cultivating his farm with such success that he became, it is said, the wealthiest man in Grand Isle county. He was a man of giant frame and powerful intellect, although he had some peculiarities. He represented his town in the Legislature, 1799-1802, 1804-06, 1808 and 1810-14. He was a member of the Executive Council in 1808. He was Chief Judge of Grand Isle County Court in 1805-06, 1808 and 1813. He died April 4, 1841.

Charles Marsh, member of Congress, was a son of Lieut. Gov. Joseph Marsh, and was born at Lebanon, Conn., July 10, 1765. He came to Hartford, Vt., in 1773 and was graduated from Dartmouth College in

1786. He studied law in the law school conducted at Litchfield, Conn., by Judge Reeves and settled at Woodstock for the practice of his profession. He was appointed United States State's Attorney for the district of Vermont in 1797, serving until 1801. He was one of the founders of the American Colonization Society. He was also a trustee of Dartmouth College and received from that institution the degree of LL.D. He died January 11, 1849.

John Noyes, member of Congress, was born at Atkinson, N. H., April 2, 1764. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1795 and became a tutor there, Daniel Webster being one of his pupils. He studied theology, but did not preach, teaching until 1800, when he removed to Brattleboro and engaged in the mercantile business. He served in the Legislature in 1808 and 1810-12. After he retired from Congress he removed to Dummerston, where he resided for four years, when he removed to Putney. His wife was Polly, daughter of Rutherford Hayes, the grandfather of President Rutherford B. Hayes. Mr. Noyes died October 26, 1841.

In his inaugural address Governor Chittenden declared that the raising of a volunteer force for service at Plattsburg was "the only mode by which efficient and timely aid could possibly be afforded." He considered that the results "ought to palsy the tongue of slander, every desirable object having been secured, and in a manner the least burthensome and offensive to the feelings of a free and enlightened people." By request of the Secretary of War he presented to General Strong

and the Vermont volunteers the thanks of the National Government "for their prompt succor and gallant conduct in the late critical state of this frontier." He paid high tribute to Commodore Macdonough and General Macomb, saying: "These glorious achievements are not surpassed in the records of naval and military warfare."

Concerning the war he said: "I consider it due to myself, and more especially to my constituents, explicitly to state that the events of the war have in no wise altered my opinion of its origin or its progress. I have conscientiously and uniformly disapproved of it as unnecessary, unwise and hopeless, in all its offensive operations. And notwithstanding the few brilliant successes we have met with in our operations of defence, I can see very little in its general complexion which affords the least consolation."

The committee to draft an answer reported a reply in sympathy with the speech, which was adopted by a vote of 106 to 85. In its reply the Legislature declared: "The termination of this unhappy war may yet be far distant. And it irresistibly claims the consideration of every prudent man, whether those who, without any adequate cause or rational hope of success, and contrary to the warning and entreaties of the best and wisest men our country can boast, exchanged a condition of peace and eminent prosperity for the evils of a desolating war, will ever be able to restore the country to an honorable rank among nations. If, as in all other cases, we are to judge of the future from the past, what can be expected of those whose war of conquest has been con-

Lake Memphremagog

verted into a war of defence, desolating our own territory; whose schemes with very few exceptions have terminated in defeat and disgrace; who have annihilated the commerce, and with it the revenue of the nation, wasted the public treasure, accumulated an enormous debt, and impaired public credit to such a degree that it can be redeemed only by a system of internal taxation, extending to almost every necessary article of subsistence. In such a state of our national affairs the General Assembly believes that it is vain to hope for the restoration of that state of unexampled prosperity without committing the administration of our National Government to men much more distinguished for vigor and ability than those by whom it is now conducted."

A substitute reported by the minority, eliminating certain partisan features, was rejected by a vote of 109 to 85. Eighty-two members later entered a protest on the journal of the House, severely criticising Governor Chittenden's course during the period preceding the battle of Plattsburg.

On October 22, Heman Allen of Colchester introduced a resolution, which was adopted, instructing the committee on that part of the Governor's speech relating to Captain Macdonough to inquire into the expediency of making him a grant of a certain tract of land, formerly the estate of Melancton W. Woolsey, lying near Cumberland Head, "and in full view of the late naval conflict." A grant was made in accordance with this resolution.

The Legislature also voted its thanks to Capt. Thomas Macdonough, "the hero and patriot, for his

unequalled bravery and important services in the conquest of a superior force on the 11th of September, 1814, which protected the soil of freedom, gained the applause of millions and merited universal respect and admiration." Thanks were also extended to Macdonough's officers and men. General Strong and the Vermont volunteers were thanked for "their distinguished services and patriotism," and for "their promptitude and bravery in defence of their country." Another resolution declared that "this Legislature, entertaining a high sense of the undaunted bravery and skill of Gen. Alexander Macomb, and his companions in arms, in the defence of an important post, and in the discomfiture of the enemy at Plattsburg, consisting of superior numbers and commanded by many of his ablest generals, do present to Gen. Alexander Macomb, and through him to the officers and soldiers under his command, in the name and behalf of the freemen of Vermont, the thanks of this Legislature for their gallant conduct."

The thanks of the Legislature of New York were extended to the Vermont volunteers. On June 25, 1817, a sword voted by the New York Legislature to Gen. Samuel Strong, was presented to him at Vergennes by a delegation headed by Col. Melancton Smith, after which a dinner was served at Painter's Inn. The sword was of exquisite workmanship, with a hilt and scabbard of gold. The hilt bore the device of a herculean mountaineer, crushing in his arms the British Lion. The scabbard bore the following inscription: "Presented by His Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of the State of New York, pursuant to a Resolution of the

Senate and Assembly of the said State, to Major General Samuel Strong, of the Vermont Volunteers, as a memorial of the sense entertained by the State of his services, and those of his brave mountaineers, at the battle of Plattsburg." Thus had time modified the sentiments of New York officials concerning the Green Mountain Boys.

During the legislative session of 1814, letters from the Governors of Pennsylvania and Tennessee were received, proposing a reduction of the term of service of United States Senators from six to four years. The proposal was referred to a committee which reported that the adoption of the amendment was considered inexpedient. This report was accepted without opposition.

An investigation of the workings of the act allowing $3.34 per month as extra pay for non-commissioned officers and privates detached for United States service was ordered; and it was found that orders in excess of two thousand dollars were forgeries.

An invitation was received from the Governor and Legislature of Massachusetts to send delegates to a convention representing the New England States, to be held at Hartford, Conn., in December, "to confer on various important subjects." This was a Federalist proposal and the Vermont Legislature was controlled by that party, but the plan did not meet with approval. That wise elder statesman, Nathaniel Chipman, sensing danger, hastened from his home in Tinmouth to Montpelier, and through his influence, it is said, the committee to which the matter was referred reported that it was inexpedient to accept the Massachusetts invitation.

This report was adopted. Although Vermont was not represented as a State, William Hall, Jr., of Bellows Falls, a member of the Governor's Council, was sent by a few citizens of Windham county and participated in the proceedings. Secretary of State Josiah Dunham of Windsor also attended, but was not given a seat. Conditions in New England, and, indeed, throughout the country were in a deplorable condition, but these conditions did not warrant an attitude toward the National Government which came perilously near treason. Vermont may well be proud that it was not officially represented in the Hartford Convention.

Although the battle of Plattsburg was a notable American victory, the presence of sixteen thousand veteran British troops, with a train of heavy artillery, mounted on sleighs, encamped near the Canadian border, was a menace to Vermont and New York. On September 19, Governor Chittenden issued a proclamation, warning the citizens of the State of the danger of another invasion, "earnestly exhorting all the good people of this State, by that love of country which so signally distinguished our fathers in their glorious and successful struggle for our independence, to unite both heart and hand in defence of our common interest, and everything dear to freemen." He recommended that those exempted from ordinary militia duty organize companies and "stand in readiness to meet the approaching crisis." Town authorities were urged to provide ammunition and assist the militia.

It was expected that a winter campaign would be organized by the British authorities for the purpose of

destroying the American fleet at Whitehall. On January 9, 1815, General Strong issued general orders, calling attention to a probable invasion of the State and the necessity of preparation for a short winter campaign. "Every one must be aware," he said, "that to ourselves alone we are to look for security and defence, the regular force on our frontiers being notoriously inadequate to withstand any serious effort of the enemy. Preparation, therefore, becomes indispensable." Commanders of companies were ordered to attend to the matter of making sure that the men under their supervision were supplied with ammunition. He also urged that volunteer companies of persons exempt from duty be formed.

With the opening of the year 1815, news not having arrived of the signing of the treaty of Ghent, Governor Tompkins of New York became alarmed at reports of a British attack on Whitehall by way of Lake Champlain. As a result he wrote Captain Macdonough, suggesting that he and the famous naval commander consult with the Governor of Vermont regarding the safety of the American fleet. Finally the authorities at Washington became apprehensive, and Macdonough was ordered to Lake Champlain to report on the situation. He conferred with Lieutenant Budd, visited Burlington and Plattsburg, and on February 1, 1815, reported to the Secretary of the Navy that the enemy were making no preparations that indicated an attack upon the American ships. He returned to Burlington February 3, and on February 4 went to Whitehall, N. Y., where he remained until the end of the war.

The army officers stationed at Burlington assembled at a local tavern on February 17 "to express their joy at the splendid and important victories of General Jackson and at the prospect of a national peace." Toasts were drunk, accompanied by the discharge of cannon.

The war ended without a distinct triumph either for American or British arms or diplomacy. The Madison administration secured none of the things for which it went to war, nor did Great Britain accomplish any of the ends which that nation sought to gain. It was, as Woodrow Wilson has said, a "clumsy, foolhardy, haphazard war." The lack of military and naval preparation was well nigh criminal in its folly. The management of military affairs was scandalously inefficient. A fortunate combination of circumstances saved this country from disaster. The cessation of hostilities came as a welcome relief to the two nations engaged and to the warring political factions in America.

Vermont contributed much in self sacrifice and patriotic effort during the second war with Great Britain, and risked much, but certain events of that period cannot be viewed with satisfaction. There is something to be said honestly in criticism of the policy which involved this country in war. Many able and patriotic men like John Marshall and Daniel Webster opposed it. But making all concessions demanded by fairness, for honest opposition, one cannot consider Governor Chittenden's hesitant, not to say obstructive military policy, and the notorious and wholesale smuggling operations and open traffic with the enemy, without a sense of humiliation.

Chapter XXXI

THE EVOLUTION OF A STATE

THE close of the Second War with Great Britain marked distinctly the beginning of a new epoch in American history. This change was not due to any notable military triumph. With the exception of Plattsburg, New Orleans and a few other victories, the war, generally speaking, was a series of disappointments and humiliations for the American people, which was the natural result of lack of preparation, both on land and sea. But indirectly the United States had won much. There had been developed, or was developing, a spirit of self reliance, of national consciousness, that was to release America from that dependence upon European nations which hitherto had been a characteristic feature of the national life. Notwithstanding the facts that business was prostrated, particularly in New England, and that the currency was disorganized, the Embargo Act and war conditions had compelled America, from sheer necessity, to develop manufacturing industries. Out of this new industrial movement, checked for a time by heavy importations following the declaration of peace, there grew a demand for a protective tariff, and a policy of internal improvements, better highways, ambitious canal projects, and the development of steam transportation on water and later on land. Like a flood that had overflowed its banks, emigration, in an ever increasing stream, poured into western New York and Pennsylvania and spread out over Ohio, Indiana and the Central Western region, penetrating even to the Southwest. America no longer was a fringe of States along the Atlantic seaboard, but a new nation; and the sense of power that came from colonizing this great and fer-

tile region contributed mightily to the growth of a spirit of nationalism, to a sense of youth and vigor and freedom that gloried in its achievements and faced the future with eagerness and confidence.

With all these notable movements there came a gradual dissolution of political parties, and for several years freedom from a partisanship that had embroiled the nation in bitter strife for two decades.

Vermont, like the other New England States, was in a serious condition when a readjustment to peace conditions was made. Hollister in his "History of Pawlet," says: "The close of the war (of 1812) found industry paralyzed, property depreciated, banks broken, even the Vermont State Bank, and all branches of business nerveless and drooping. Those who had contracted debts in the flush times of the war could not meet them. The laws then allowed imprisonment for debt. The really poor would go to jail, and after a few weeks' probation 'swear out'. Some who could not do that would give bail and secure the liberty of the jail yard. All legal devices were employed that would stave off the payment of debts. Doubt and distrust pervaded every rank of society."

In his oration on the death of Daniel Webster, delivered nearly forty years later, Hon. William C. Bradley, alluding to this period, said: "During the war the foreign commerce of the Union had been almost annihilated; our merchant ships were lying on the docks; and to supply the wants of the people, factories of some kind or other had been established all over the land. When peace came, the vessels darted from every port, the com-

merce of the country spread with new vigor into every clime; immense importations of merchandise took place, and the infant manufactories were almost crushed. In this way a complete antagonism was created between the mercantile and manufacturing interests."

Almost over night, following the news of the signing of the peace treaty, the prices of sugar, tea and other imports dropped at least fifty per cent. Flour, cotton and other products, for which there was a demand abroad, advanced in like proportion. British manufactured articles, particularly cotton and woolen goods, flooded our markets, and were sold at prices, even after the comparatively low duties were paid, that made American competition impossible. British fabrics were sold at auction in many instances, to hasten their sale.

Many little factories, utilizing small water powers, had been built in Vermont during the period when imports were excluded; and not a few of these, including woolen, cloth dressing and fulling mills, were compelled to shut down. The opening of foreign markets brought great prosperity to Southern cotton growers; but to New England it brought competition that threatened ruin, the effects of which have been seen for well nigh a century in national policies and political alignments.

A "History of Middlebury" records the fact that at the close of the war the people of Addison county were almost hopelessly in debt. At the term of county court held in June, 1817, the number of civil cases entered exceeded five hundred and most of them were for the collection of debts.

The election of 1815 indicated the waning of the Federalist strength, which had been augmented during the war by many persons who were dissatisfied with the manner in which hostilities were conducted, or resentful because trade with Canada was restricted. Jonas Galusha was recalled from private life to the Governorship, although his majority over Governor Chittenden was not large, the vote being, Galusha, 18,055; Chittenden, 16,032; scattering, 571. A Republican Council was elected, and the same party controlled the House of Representatives by a majority of thirteen. William A. Griswold of Danville was elected Speaker.

Governor Galusha's inaugural address was devoted largely to a justification of the war and a description of the unhappy condition of the nations of Europe and Asia. His recommendations were few, but attention was called to the importance "of our infant manufactures, which, if rightly improved, cannot fail to increase our wealth and real independence."

Among the legislative acts was one granting the exclusive right to navigate the Vermont waters of Lake Champlain by means of steamboats for a period of twenty-three years, to Amos W. Barnum and Enoch D. Woodbridge of Vergennes, and Cornelius P. Van Ness and John Winans of Burlington.

Early in the session Governor Galusha communicated to the General Assembly amendments to the Constitution of the United States proposed by the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut, together with resolutions relating to these amendments from the States submitting them, and from New York, New Jersey and

Pennsylvania. These amendments were based on the resolutions adopted by the Hartford Convention, and provided that Representatives and direct taxes should be apportioned according to the number of free persons and those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians and slaves; that no State should be admitted to the Union without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress; that Congress should not have the power to lay an embargo on United States shipping for more than sixty days; that a two-thirds vote should be required to enable Congress to interdict commercial relations between the United States and any foreign nation or its dependencies; that a declaration of war by Congress should require a two-thirds vote, unless such acts of hostility should be in defence of United States territory when actually invaded; that no person thereafter naturalized should be eligible as a member of either branch of Congress, or capable of holding any civil office of the United States; that a President should not be eligible for reelection, nor should a President be elected from the same State for two consecutive terms. The Vermont Legislature refused to concur in these proposals of amendment.

The value of lands, lots and houses in Vermont in 1815, estimated as a basis for levying a direct tax, was $32,461,120, an increase of $17,309,038 over the valuation made for a similar purpose in 1798. Windsor county led in the amount of property assessed, with Rutland county second. At the beginning of the year 1816 there were six Republican and five Federalist newspapers in Vermont.

The distress caused by industrial conditions growing out of the war was greatly intensified by an almost total crop failure in 1816. This season was variously known as "the cold year," "the famine year" and "Eighteen hundred and froze to death." Spring weather came unusually early that year, and there were copious rains until May, followed by a drouth which lasted until September. On the night of June 8, there was a severe frost, followed by a fall of nearly a foot of snow, which blew into drifts two or three feet deep. Corn was killed, but in some instances it sprouted again. The leaves on the trees were killed and the beeches did not put out leaves again that year. Sheep had just been sheared, and where it was possible the fleeces were bound around the bodies of these animals to keep them from freezing. There were frosts and snow in every month of the year, although only a few flakes fell in July and August. Winter grain was a fair crop but other crops and grass were almost complete failures. After the June storm the corn which had sprouted again gave promise of maturing, but there was a heavy frost on September 10, just as the ears were ready for roasting, which put an end to the hope of a late harvest. A few crops of poor quality, including some unripe potatoes, were harvested, as there had been a second planting, but little that ordinarily would have been considered of value.

There was great suffering, but little if any, actual starvation. Days of fasting and prayer were observed in the churches. As a rule, people helped each other generously, dividing the little they possessed with others

less fortunate. A Coventry family, reduced to half a loaf of bread, divided this meagre supply with a neighbor. Many sheep and cattle perished, owing to the failure of the hay crop. Some wheat was harvested in the milk, and by heating in an oven it could be mashed into dough and baked or boiled like rice. A kind of bread was made by boiling and mashing potatoes and mixing this substance with corn meal or flour. Vegetables and berries were used wherever possible and fish was a common article of diet. It is related that fish never were so plentiful in the Missisquoi River as during this famine period. There were at least ten fishing grounds between Swanton Falls and the mouth of the river, and large seines were kept in operation night and day. People from the eastern part of the State came in large numbers to barter maple sugar and other articles for fish. Everything that could possibly be eaten was utilized. Nettles were boiled, the roots of wild turnips were gathered and hedgehogs were killed for food.

A sloop load of wheat was purchased at Chambly, Que., for the people of St. Albans. A Waterford man brought a quantity of corn on a flat boat from Connecticut and sold it for two and one-half dollars a bushel. Rye sold for three dollars a bushel. Flour brought from Troy, N. Y., and Montreal sold at prices varying from fifteen dollars to seventeen dollars a barrel. The weather in the fall was dry and cold and the air was filled with dust. In 1817 the earliest wheat was cut, dried by artificial heat and ground, and the flour divided by the owners with those who had none. The season of 1817 was

noted for bountiful crops, particularly of wheat. Favorable seasons followed for several years, and farmers were able, as a result of good harvests, to reduce their debts.

The people of the town of Worcester were so discouraged that most of them left town. No town meetings were held for several years and the town lost its organization temporarily. In 1818 only one family remained. The cold season induced many Vermont families to emigrate, and Ohio was a favorite "Land of Promise."

The emigration to the West did not begin at this time. It had been a well developed movement for more than a decade. Beginning with a migration from the older communities of southern Vermont into the central and northern townships of the State, it spread into northern and western New York and to the fertile valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries. During the first years of the Nineteenth century a colony of about one hundred persons emigrated from South Woodstock to the West, some going as far as Upper Louisiana, or Missouri. In 1818, eighty persons left Woodstock and joined the pioneer movement. Several settlements of considerable size in the town of Danby were entirely abandoned, and certain highways were discontinued on account of the westward movement. Many persons emigrated to the Holland Purchase in western New York and several townships in that region were settled almost entirely by families from Danby.

It is related in the "History of Pawlet" that emigration was unusually heavy in the period between 1820 and

1830. Great canvas covered wagons, drawn by horses or oxen, travelled westward, bearing on their sides the words, "Bound for the Ohio." The population of Shoreham in 1820 had decreased one hundred and sixty-two during the preceding decade. These are typical instances which may be duplicated in the history of scores of Vermont towns. This movement in no sense was confined to Vermont, but was duplicated in practically all of the settled regions of New England. McMaster relates that in 1817, within the space of one month, five hundred and eleven wagons, carrying three thousand, sixty-six persons, passed through Easton, Pa., bound for the West. During the year 1816 it is said that forty-two thousand persons settled in Indiana. According to Henry Adams the migration to the West following the end of the War of 1812 became almost a folk movement.

Although the Vermont Federalists in 1816 nominated for Governor Gen. Samuel Strong, who commanded the Vermont troops in the battle of Plattsburg, the record of the party itself was such that even a popular officer could not avert disaster, and Jonas Galusha was returned to the Executive office. The vote was as follows: Galusha, 17,262; Strong, 13,888; scattering, 102. General Strong carried Chittenden, Franklin, Grand Isle, Orleans and Windham counties. The Republicans elected their ticket for members of the Council and had a majority of forty in the Assembly. The successful Congressional candidates were Heman Allen, Samuel C. Crafts, William Hunter, Orsamus C. Merrill, Charles Rich and Mark Richards, all of them Republicans, and the average majority was two thousand, nine hundred.

Heman Allen was born in Poultney, Vt., in 1779, being the son of Heber Allen. His father died while he was young and he was taken into the home of his famous uncle, Ira Allen, and treated like a son. He attended Dartmouth College, graduating in 1795, and studied law. He was Sheriff of Chittenden county, 1808-09; Chief Judge of Chittenden County Court, 1811-14; and an active member of the Legislature, 1812-17. He served as Quartermaster General of the State militia and for many years was a trustee of the University of Vermont. He was elected to Congress in 1817, but resigned in 1818 to accept the office of United States Marshal for the district of Vermont. From 1823 to 1828 he was United States Minister to Chili. In 1830 he was elected president of the Burlington branch of the United States Bank, holding that position until the expiration of the charter. Later he removed to Highgate, where he died, April 9, 1852. He was known in later years as "Chili" Allen on account of his diplomatic service in South America, and to distinguish him from Heman Allen of Milton. Not only were the names of the two men similar, but both were lawyers, both were elected to Congress, and at one time both lived in Burlington.

Samuel C. Crafts was the son of Col. Ebenezer Crafts, pioneer settler of Craftsbury. He was born in Woodstock, Conn., October 6, 1768, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1790. The following year, 1791, he accompanied his father to Vermont and for thirty-seven consecutive years he served as Town Clerk of Craftsbury. In 1793 he was elected a delegate to the

Constitutional Convention, being the youngest member of that body. Again, in 1829, he was member of a similar convention, and was elected its president. He represented Craftsbury in the Legislature of 1796, 1800-01, 1803 and 1805. He was Clerk of the House in 1798 and 1799; Register of Probate, 1796-1815; Assistant Judge of Orleans County Court, 1800-10; Chief Judge, 1810-16 and again 1825-28; member of the Council, 1809-13 and 1825-27; member of Congress, 1817-25; United States Senator, 1842-43; and Presidential Elector in 1840. He was a strong and able man, although modest and unassuming, and was held in high esteem by the people of the State.

William Hunter was born in Sharon, Conn., January 3, 1754. He emigrated to Windsor and represented that town in the Legislatures of 1795, 1807 and 1808. He was a member of the Council from 1809 until 1813, and in 1815. He was Register of Probate, 1798 to 1801, and Judge of Probate, 1801-02. From 1805 until 1816 he was Assistant Judge of County Court, and served as a member of the Council of Censors in 1806 and 1820. His Congressional service covered only one term. He died November 30, 1827.

Orsamus C. Merrill was born in Farmington, Conn., June 18, 1775. He came to Bennington in 1791 and served as an apprentice in Anthony Haswell's printing office. Later he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1805. During the War of 1812 he served as Major of the Eleventh U. S. Infantry, Lieutenant Colonel, first of the Twenty-sixth Infantry and later of the Eleventh Infantry. He was Register of Probate in

1815; Clerk of the Court in 1816; member of Congress, 1817-19; member of the Legislature and of the Constitutional Convention, 1822; State's Attorney, 1823-24; member of the Council, 1824-26; a member of the first Vermont Senate, 1836; Judge of Probate, 1822, 1841-42 and 1846. He died April 12, 1865.

Mark Richards was born in Waterbury, Conn., July 15, 1760. At the age of sixteen he enlisted in the American army and saw service at Stony Point, Monmouth, Red Bank and Valley Forge. He engaged in mercantile pursuits in Boston and acquired a competence. Later he removed to Westminster, Vt. He represented his town in the Legislature in 1801-02, 1804, 1824, 1826, 1828, 1832 and 1834. He was a member of the Council of Censors in 1806; Sheriff of Windham county, 1806-10; Presidential Elector, 1812; member of the Governor's Council in 1813 and 1815; member of Congress, 1817-21; and Lieutenant Governor in 1830. He died August 10, 1844.

The Presidential Electors chosen in 1816 were Jonathan Robinson of Bennington, James Roberts of Whitingham, Apollos Austin of Orwell, Asaph Fletcher of Cavendish, Robert Holley of Bristol, John H. Colton of Bradford, William Brayton of Swanton and Isaiah Fisk of Lyndon. Vermont's vote was cast for James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins. Only three States, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware, voted for Rufus King, the Federalist candidate for President.

The Vermont Legislature organized by reelecting William A. Griswold of Danville as Speaker. In his annual address to the Legislature, Governor Galusha

alluded to the crop failure of 1816, which, he said, "is so alarming that I take the liberty to recommend to you, and through you to the people of this State, the most rigid economy in the early expenditure of those articles of provision most deficient, that by peculiar precaution we may avoid, as far as possible, the foreboded evil of this unparalleled season." He declared that "the depressed situation of our infant manufactories, since the return of peace, is a matter of serious concern," and urged that any encouragement that could be given consistently should not be withheld. Reference was made to the receipt of a letter from Hon. DeWitt Clinton relative to the appointment of a New York commission to examine the region between Lake Champlain and the Hudson River and report on the practicability of canal construction. In his Thanksgiving proclamation, issued in October, Governor Galusha declared that, "although the Wise Dispenser of events has seen fit in His holy providence to blast our expectations in the latter harvest, yet by the abundance of the former He has measurably secured us from famine and distress."

In the United States Senate at this time Senator Chase was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and Senator Tichenor ranked second on the Committee on Militia. A moderate increase of salaries in Congress aroused great resentment, and grand juries in Vermont and elsewhere denounced the Compensation Act.

Although the spring of 1817 was backward, which fact could not fail to cause serious apprehension on the part of a people not far removed from actual starvation, yet the *Burlington Sentinel* in its issue of July 25 alluded

to the most flattering prospects of an abundant harvest "that was ever known by the farmer since the first settlement of this part of the country." The same newspaper called attention to the fact that the "Ohio fever," so prevalent in Vermont, Maine and elsewhere, had been checked "by the season's pleasing prospect which everywhere surrounds us." Fortunately the crop yields were not disappointing, and Governor Galusha in his Thanksgiving proclamation in the fall of 1817 was able to refer with gratitude to "the unexpected luxury of the recent harvest."

The notable event of the year 1817 was the tour of the new President, James Monroe, through the Northern States. Leaving Washington on May 31, accompanied by General Swift and Mr. Mason, his Private Secretary, he visited Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and New England. He entered Vermont at Norwich, July 22, and without stopping passed through that town to Strafford, where he visited the copperas works. Later he received the greetings of the citizens of Strafford and vicinity and returned to Curtis' Hotel, at Norwich, where an address of welcome was presented. After dinner had been served the President was introduced to a company of men, women and children, who had assembled to greet him. He remained in Norwich about two hours, and in the afternoon proceeded to Windsor, where his arrival was announced by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. Escorted by the Jefferson Artillery and a great throng of people from Windsor and surrounding towns, the party paused in front of Windsor Academy to receive the greetings of the young

women of the village, proceeding thence to Pettes' Hotel. When the President arrived at this inn an address was delivered by Captain Dunham, one of the most ardent Federalists of Vermont, which is said to have been one of the best speeches of the entire tour. In his reply President Monroe said: "I have approached the State of Vermont with peculiar sensibility. On a former visit, immediately after the (Revolutionary) War, I left it a wilderness, and I now find it blooming with luxuriant promise of wealth and happiness, to a numerous population. A brave and free people will never abandon the defence of their country. The patriotism of Vermont has been relied on in times of peril; and the just expectation of their virtue was honorably sustained. I shall ever rely on their wisdom in the councils of the nation, as on their courage in the field."

After these exercises the distinguished guest was conducted to his apartments, "where a most splendid and superb dinner was prepared." Later the President accepted the invitation of Mrs. Josiah Dunham to meet a party of about two hundred men and women. During the evening an address was presented by the young women of Windsor Female Academy, to which Mr. Monroe replied gallantly to the effect that no attention which he had received had afforded him greater satisfaction. Although he was conducted to his lodgings at a late hour by Captain Thomas, the marshal of the day, he arose on Wednesday morning, July 23, at an hour sufficiently early to permit him to leave Windsor at six o'clock in the morning for Woodstock, after taking "an affectionate leave" of the citizens.

At Hartland the President was met by members of the committee of arrangements, a detachment of cavalry commanded by Captain Mack, and a cavalcade of citizens. The arrival of the party at Woodstock was announced by a discharge of artillery, the President entering the village on horseback at ten o'clock in the forenoon. The citizens were formed in lines on either side of the street, and passing between them the President proceeded to Mr. Pratt's house, where he was received by the local committee of arrangements, a salute being fired by Captain Warner's artillery company from Barnard. An address of welcome was delivered by Hon. Titus Hutchinson, to which the President made a fitting response.

Passing through Royalton, the Presidential party followed the White River valley route, and on Thursday morning was met at Berlin by the Montpelier committee of arrangements. Here a procession was formed. Two companies of cavalry, and citizens on horseback and in carriages acted as an escort. Shortly before eleven o'clock a discharge of artillery announced that the President was approaching the State capital. Alighting from his carriage, the Chief Executive mounted a horse and rode through the main street, the citizens being assembled in large numbers to greet him. He was received by the First Light Company and conducted to the State House, the Washington Artillery firing a national salute. In front of the Capitol more than three hundred academy students and pupils of the public schools, dressed in neat uniforms, were drawn up in two lines. The President walked between them with uncovered head, bowing his

acknowledgments, and passed under an evergreen arch bearing on one side the words, "July 4, 1776," and on the other, "Trenton, Dec. 26, 1776." On the second-story portico of the State House, in the presence of a great multitude, Hon. James Fisk, a personal and political friend of the President, delivered an address of welcome. Mr. Monroe replied in a brief but felicitous speech. It appears that Representatives' Hall was used as a schoolroom for the Academy students, when the Legislature was not in session, and the President visited the school, inspecting the maps and globes. The pupils rose to receive him, and the preceptor, Mr. Hill, offered him a bouquet, saying, "I present to Your Excellency the finest blossoms and the fairest flowers that our climate produces." The President replied, "They are the finest that nature can produce." He was escorted by the Washington Artillery between lines of citizens extending from the Capitol to the Cadwell House, where a luncheon was served.

The President then resumed his journey, arriving at Burlington Thursday evening, July 24. A great number of citizens had assembled at Williston to greet him, the party passing between mounted men drawn up on each side of the highway. The delegation which came out to welcome the Presidential party included a cavalry escort, the Selectmen, the University faculty and the local clergymen. National salutes from the Battery and one of the United States galleys in the harbor, and the ringing of bells announced the President's arrival at Burlington. Two hundred and twenty Academy pupils greeted the distinguished guest as he passed. An ad-

dress of welcome was delivered by Hon. Daniel Farrand, and in his response the President referred appreciatively to the gallant naval action on Lake Champlain in which Macdonough won a signal victory. He assured his hearers that the Government would not withhold any practicable measures to secure the town from invasion. A dinner was served, attended by prominent residents of the village. At the conclusion of the dinner the President offered this toast: "The Citizens of Burlington—May the scenes which remind them of the glory of their country continue to excite their patriotic emulation." After the President had retired, a toast in his honor was drunk standing. Other toasts were proposed by Mr. Mason, the President's Secretary, Colonel Totten and Hon. Daniel Farrand.

In the evening the University buildings were illuminated and the President's name was shown "in an elegant transparency." On Friday morning the President was the guest of C. P. Van Ness at breakfast, after which the college authorities, the local clergymen and a number of ladies and gentlemen were presented to him. The President was then conducted to the steamboat *Phoenix,* salutes being fired as he departed, and accompanied by about fifty citizens he proceeded to Vergennes, visiting the shipyard where Macdonough's fleet was built. The *Phoenix* carried the party to Rouses Point, where the fort just begun by Colonel Totten of the United States Engineers, was inspected. The President then came back to Plattsburg, and proceeding to Ogdensburg, Sackett's Harbor, Niagara Falls, Buffalo and Detroit, completed his tour, and returned to the national capital

in September. President Monroe may not have been a brilliant statesman, but he was tactful and conciliatory, and knew how to make friends, a quality which some of his successors have lacked. The most active Federalist partisans were cordially greeted, their hospitality was accepted, and as a result there followed that "era of good feeling," appropriately named, which came as a welcome relief after a period of bitter partisan strife.

When the American and the British commissioners met at Ghent, in 1814, to conclude a treaty of peace, the latter proposed, at the first conference, that the boundary line between the United States and Canada should be revised. Accordingly there was embodied in the Treaty of Ghent a provision for ascertaining the international boundary line from the source of the St. Croix River to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods. The British Government named Thomas Barclay as its representative, and President Madison appointed as commissioners Cornelius P. Van Ness, an eminent citizen of Vermont, and a resident of Burlington, and John Holmes of Massachusetts. The commission of Mr. Van Ness was dated April 3, 1816. The first meeting of what was known as the Northeastern Boundary Commission was held at Portland, Me., and on September 17, 1816, the members sailed for St. Andrews, N. B., where a meeting was held on September 23. After a two days' session, adjournment was taken, as the surveyors had not arrived, and it was too late in the season to begin the survey of the boundary line.

When the commissioners reassembled, William C. Bradley of Westminster, Vt., appeared as Agent on the

part of the United States, with a commission from President Madison, dated February 7, 1817. John Johnson of Burlington was appointed chief surveyor on the part of the United States. He was made Surveyor General of Vermont in 1812, being a surveyor of unusual skill and a man of excellent judgment. Beginning the work in 1817, with Colonel Bouchette, representing the British Government, the line due north from the head of the St. Croix River, in eastern Maine, was traced to the River St. John. In 1818 this work was continued, Colonel Odell representing the British commission. The line was surveyed as far as the highlands designated in the treaty and the country west of the line running due north was explored. The British commission objected to carrying beyond the River St. John the line running north, and the work was interrupted.

It had been planned to hold the first meeting of the Boundary Commission in 1818 in New York, but by agreement it was held at Burlington, Vt., on May 15 of that year. Other meetings were held at Montreal, St. Regis, Boston and New York. After considering the questions at issue from September 20 until October 4, the debates being characterized by no little acrimony, with no prospect of reaching an agreement, adjournment was taken until the following year, in order that each commission might prepare its report. In a statement prepared by Mr. Van Ness he said: "The obstacles to be encountered have been great and numerous. The whole extent of the country from the source of the River St. Croix north to the River St. Lawrence, and between that line and the head of the Connecticut River, is one

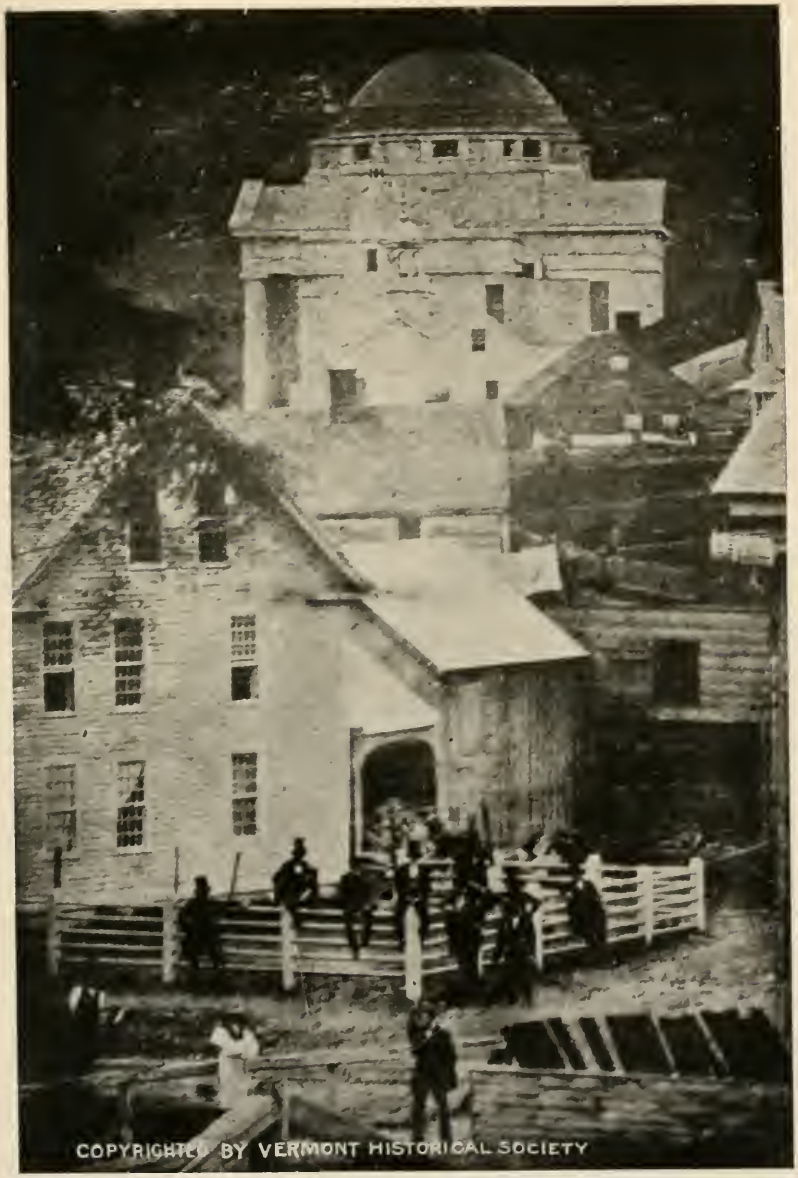
vast and entire wilderness, inhabited by no human being except a few savages, and, in one spot, a few Frenchmen." Near the headwaters of the Connecticut River there was a difference between the American and the British lines, Mr. Bradley, the American Agent, claiming the head of Hall's Stream as the proper line and the British Agent holding out for another stream. Mr. Van Ness was inclined to doubt the advisability of insisting upon Hall's Stream as the proper boundary. Some of the British authorities asserted that their first surveyor, Colonel Bouchette, had been "bullied" by Mr. Johnson, and Bouchette was discharged.

In the fall of 1818, Doctor Tiarks and Mr. Hassler, astronomers, respectively, for the British and American commissions, discovered to their surprise and consternation, that just east of Lake Champlain the forty-fifth parallel of latitude actually ran about three-fourths of a mile south of the accepted boundary line, surveyed in the preceding century. This meant that a fortification begun at Rouses Point by the United States Government was actually in British territory. In order to avoid a local uprising this discovery was not made public at the time. Mr. Bradley put forward the claim that the geocentric instead of the observed latitude should be taken, which would have placed the boundary line thirteen miles farther north. Mr. Van Ness, however, did not endorse this claim. Disagreeing reports were filed by the two commissioners and the surveyors were recalled. Other negotiations were carried on from time to time, without arriving at a settlement, until the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842, which

ceded to the United States the land in the vicinity of Rouses Point, occupied by the unfinished fortification, called in derision, "Fort Blunder."

In a letter written to Henry Clay by Albert Gallatin, January 30, 1827, from London, where the author had been sent on a secret diplomatic mission, the boundary report of Mr. Van Ness was characterized as "conclusive and remarkably well drawn"; and in the same letter it was stated that "Mr. Bradley's arguments have also great merit, and embrace or allude to almost all that can be said."

In the published writings of Gallatin a letter to Mr. Van Ness is included, in which he said: "Whilst in London I took several opportunities in my correspondence with our Government to do that justice to which you were so fully entitled, not only for the soundness of your decision and of the arguments on which it was founded, but for the impartiality which you evinced throughout the whole of the proceedings under the commission. I think it highly honorable to the country that the commissioner appointed on the part of the United States should have sustained the character of a judge bound on his oath to decide as such, and according to evidence and the general principles of law, and should in no instance have permitted himself to act as a partisan. In a letter written on the same day to William C. Bradley, Mr. Gallatin said: "I embrace with pleasure the opportunity of acknowledging the great benefit I have derived from your able arguments, in which you maintained an evident and constant superiority over the British Agent."



The Second State House

In his oration on Webster Mr. Bradley said of the Northeastern Boundary negotiations: "The claim of the United States was strong on the side of Maine and New Hampshire, but terribly weak on that of Vermont and New York, having no better foundation than a survey, confessedly incorrect, made of a portion of the line previous to the American Revolution. The opposite party was desperately resolved on securing a passage between New Brunswick and Quebec; and the rights of Maine were too clear to be surrendered without her consent. We failed; and the failure was no reproach, where Gallatin and Livingston could not succeed. The two nations were on the eve of an outbreak when the English Ministry deputed Lord Ashburton, a highly respectable nobleman, but more conversant with commerce than national law, to confer with the American Secretary (Webster), who was fully versed in every branch of the question. * * * They succeeded (in negotiating a treaty settling the long standing boundary dispute); and the signature of Daniel Webster gave to Vermont ninety square miles of territory."

In her "Memoirs of William C. Bradley," Mrs. S. B. Willard said: "In this work (on the Boundary Commission) which lasted five years, he did what he esteemed the great service of his life. Through the wild region of the northeast frontier he went in person, and laid down the line, which, rejected by Great Britain, and disputed over with an acrimony that well nigh ended in war, he had the satisfaction of seeing adopted in the Ashburton Treaty." It is only justice to John Johnson,

the American surveyor, to say that the line finally agreed upon as the boundary, was surveyed by him.

In a speech made in the Senate by Mr. Webster, on April 6 and 7, 1846, defending the Treaty of Washington, he called attention to the fact that Rouses Point was the key to Lake Champlain, and when it was learned that the site of an American fortification was on British territory, engineers were sent to examine the shores of the lake to find some other site suitable for a fort. Windmill Point on the Vermont shore and Stony Point on the New York shore were suggested. These were, however, inferior to Rouses Point, of which Mr. Webster said that "on the whole frontier of the State of New York, with the single exception of the narrows below the city, there is not a point of equal importance." After relating how Rouses Point was secured for the United States, he continued: "The same arrangement gave us a similar advantage in Vermont. * * * That State got about sixty or seventy thousand acres, including several villages, which would otherwise have been left on the British side of the line."

The Federalists sought to stay the dissolution of that party by nominating Senator Tichenor for Governor in 1817, but he carried only Grand Isle and Windham counties, the vote, which was unusually light, being as follows: Galusha, 13,756; Tichenor, 7,430. In his inaugural address Governor Galusha expressed his gratification that the "luxuriant harvest" had removed all anxiety concerning the food supply. He referred to the embarrassment caused by the deficiency of a circulating medium, due in part to the scarcity of money, at the

close of the war, and in part to the fact that many emigrants had converted their property into cash and had taken it West with them. By a vote of 109 to 77 it was voted not to appoint a committee to draft a reply to the Governor's speech, and the old custom was abandoned.

William A. Griswold again was elected Speaker. The circulation of bank bills not payable in specie was prohibited. Acts were passed to ascertain the number of deaf and dumb persons in the State, to determine the amount of the State's claims against the United States growing out of the recent war, and incorporating the Windsor Bank. The Assembly concurred in the constitutional amendment proposed by Massachusetts, providing that for the purpose of electing Representatives in Congress and Presidential Electors, the States should be divided into districts composed of contiguous territory and containing as nearly as possible an equal number of inhabitants, but the Governor and Council refused to concur. It was declared inexpedient to ratify the amendment proposed by Kentucky, providing that no law varying the compensation of the members of Congress should take effect until the expiration of the term for which the members who enacted the measure had been chosen. A bill to divide the State into Congressional districts was defeated by a narrow margin.

Hon. Dudley Chase, having resigned his seat in the United States Senate to become Chief Judge of the Vermont Supreme Court, a position which he held until 1820, James Fisk was elected as his successor, on November 4, 1817. Mr. Fisk had served in Congress

from 1805 to 1809 and from 1810 to 1815, where he had held a prominent position, being one of the most active members of that body, holding responsible committee positions and frequently participating in House debates. He had served on the Supreme Court bench during the years 1815 and 1816, and came to the Senate well equipped for the position. His term of service, however, was very brief. On January 29, 1818, Senator Fisk resigned to accept the position of Collector of Customs for the district of Vermont, which he held for eight years. This appointment and the election of Judge Chase, furnish additional evidence of the preference often shown during the early history of Vermont for State rather than Congressional positions.

During the early part of the Nineteenth century the excessive use of intoxicating liquors became a great evil in Vermont, as it did elsewhere. A few years before the outbreak of the Second War with Great Britain, distilleries were established for the manufacture of potato whiskey, and the surplus of the coarser grains, which yielded abundant harvests, and were utilized for the manufacture of liquors. Corn and rye whiskey and cider brandy were made in large quantities. There was a cider mill in almost every school district. Farmers often would put into their cellars every fall from ten to twenty barrels of cider, and sometimes more. There were ten distilleries in the town of Poultney, four in the town of Shelburne, thirty in Chittenden county and approximately two hundred in the State of Vermont. Hogs were kept at the distilleries and were fattened on the waste products.

There was a bar in every tavern, and liquors were considered as necessary as food.

Merchants kept their own freight teams and farmers carried their produce to market, often to Boston,—every winter. This necessitated many taverns. For example, there was one hostelry in Shelburne village and four between that village and Burlington, a distance of six miles. Some of these old taverns are still to be seen on not a few of our country roads. As practically all Vermont's freight and passenger traffic was transported by teams over the highways there was much business for the hotels. The effect of the congregating of teamsters and passengers at the taverns promoted the drinking habit. Liquors formed one of the principal articles of merchandise in general stores. Heavy drinking was customary, although the evil effects were lessened somewhat by the facts that liquors were seldom adulterated and that the vigorous life out of doors led by most men rendered them less susceptible to the ordinary effects of intemperance than men of a less active manner of life. Liquors were set forth on almost every public occasion, and there was excessive drinking at weddings, funerals, on military training days, at sheep washings and in haying. Clergymen were treated freely as they made their rounds of parish visits, and often took a glass of grog before entering the pulpit. Many members of the congregations carried flasks of cider brandy to church, which were passed around during the intermission between the first and the second service.

The manufacture of liquors flourished, particularly during the War of 1812 and the period immediately pre-

ceding, when importation was checked. It is said that from twenty to twenty-five hogsheads of liquor were sold annually in Shelburne, where conditions were in no way exceptional. In the "History of Hartford, Vt.," it is related that on the day after the news of the end of the War of 1812 was received, the price of whiskey declined from one dollar and fifty cents to thirty-three cents per gallon. One store had two thousand gallons on hand. With the coming of peace, distilleries became less profitable.

Temperance reform began as early as the winter of 1817-18. The evils of intemperance in Vermont were so serious that before the Legislature of 1817 adjourned a committee was appointed to investigate the excessive use of ardent spirits, headed by Governor Galusha, Lieutenant Governor Brigham, Speaker Griswold and some of the State's most eminent men. The report of the committee occupied several newspaper columns. The evils of intemperance were set forth at length and the statement was made that the annual cost of distilled liquors, consumed in the States, could not be much less than one million dollars. The growth of the temperance spirit in the East was encouraged by a series of powerful sermons delivered by Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, which were widely circulated. The formation of total abstinence societies began about this time, and by 1840 the movement became vigorous and aggressive, when the so-called Washingtonian temperance reform movement began in this State. A little later organizations known as Sons of Temperance were formed. It is said that at the close of the year 1829 more than one thousand

temperance societies had been organized in the United States, and that the importation of intoxicating liquors into this country had decreased from an amount valued at more than five million dollars in 1824 to about one million, one hundred thousand dollars in 1830.

Toward the end of the second decade of the Nineteenth century many agricultural societies were formed.

President Monroe issued a proclamation on April 28, 1818, in regard to naval forces on Lake Champlain, in accordance with the treaty with Great Britain, by the terms of which the naval strength was confined to one ship for each nation, each armed with one eighteen-pound cannon.

For a considerable period Senator Tichenor served on the Military Affairs Committee and was active in matters relating to the army. On November 30, 1818, he introduced a resolution providing for a gradual reduction in the number of Supreme Court Judges, a restriction of their duties, and the organization of a Circuit Court in each State. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of 22 to 14.

Toward the end of July, 1818, the body of Gen. Richard Montgomery, killed in the assault on Quebec, December 31, 1775, and buried near the ramparts of that city, was disinterred and taken to New York for burial. It was conveyed through Lake Champlain on the steamboat *Phoenix,* which was draped in black, the flags flying at half mast. At Whitehall, N. Y., the body was met by a military escort.

A storm of protest was aroused as the result of a legislative caucus held at Montpelier in the fall of 1817,

because some members of Congress were not renominated. Congressmen Allen and Hunter had declined to be candidates for reelection, but Samuel C. Crafts was not renominated. This action aroused considerable resentment, as did the failure to nominate Ezra Meech of Shelburne, whom a district caucus had endorsed.

There was no regular Federalist ticket in 1818. Governor Galusha received 15,243 votes and 749 scattering votes were cast. The caucus candidates for Congress were Mark Richards of Westminster, Rollin C. Mallary of Poultney, William Strong of Hartford, Charles Rich of Shoreham, William A. Griswold of Danville and John Peck of Waterbury. Three of these candidates, Messrs. Rich, Strong and Richards, were successful. Congressman Crafts was reelected, and Congressman Merrill was given a certificate of election after a close contest in which four candidates participated. Ezra Meech was also elected, being the only successful candidate who had not previously served in Congress. He was born in New London, Conn., July 26, 1773, and with his parents came to Hinesburg, Vt., in 1785. Beginning as a trapper, he became engaged in the fur business, sometimes bringing large packs on his back from Canada. He also conducted a general store in Charlotte and owned a farm. Later he engaged in the lumber business, selling much oak timber at Quebec. He was very successful in business and accumulated large wealth. He became one of the largest landed proprietors in the State, owning approximately three thousand, five hundred acres at the time of his death. He represented Charlotte in the Legislature in 1805 and in

1807; was Chief Judge of Chittenden County Court, 1822-24; and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1822. He served a second term in Congress, 1825-27. During the period when the Anti-Masonic party was in power he was more than once the Democratic candidate for Governor. Later he became a Whig, and was a Presidential Elector in 1840. During the last years of his life he resided in Shelburne, where he died, September 23, 1856, aged eighty-three years.

The Legislature organized by electing as Speaker Richard Skinner of Manchester. In his inaugural address Governor Galusha alluded to the fact that crops were less productive than formerly, when the land was new, and he recommended the organization of agricultural societies to consider better methods of farming and the improvement of the breeds of domestic animals.

William A. Palmer of Danville was elected United States Senator to complete the unexpired term of James Fisk, resigned, and for the full term of six years beginning in March, 1819. He was born in Hebron, Conn., September 12, 1781. Having lost part of one hand by accident, he decided to study law. He came to Vermont about the time he attained his majority, and studied law in the office of Daniel Buck of Chelsea. About 1805 he settled in St. Johnsbury. Two years later he was appointed Judge of Probate and County Clerk and removed to Danville. He held the former office one year, and held it later, from 1811 until 1817. The latter office he held until 1815. He represented Danville in the Legislature in 1811-12. 1818, 1825-26 and 1829. He was a State Senator in 1836-37 and was a member of

the Constitutional Conventions of 1828, 1836 and 1856. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1816 and was reelected in 1817, but declined to serve. He served one term in the United States Senate and was Governor of Vermont from 1831 to 1835. He died December 3, 1860.

During the legislative session of 1818 crimes and their penalties were redefined. The capital crimes included treason, murder, false witness which caused the life of a person to be taken, and arson resulting in death or bodily injury. A new militia law was passed, which provided that all able-bodied white male citizens were subject to militia duty. There were numerous exceptions, including public officials, clergymen, elders and deacons, Quakers, schoolmasters, students of colleges and academies, physicians, millers, ferrymen and stage drivers. Persons "conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms" were released on taking an oath to that effect and paying two dollars each year to the Captain of the company which the objector would naturally join. The State was divided into Congressional districts as follows:

First District—Bennington county and Rutland county, eight towns excepted.

Second District—Windham county and six towns of Windsor county.

Third District—Addison county, eight towns of Rutland county, four of Washington county and six of Chittenden county.

Fourth District—Most of Windsor county and eight Orange county towns.

Fifth District—Franklin, Grand Isle and Orleans counties, most of Chittenden county and four Washington county towns.

Sixth District—Caledonia and Essex counties, part of Orange county and seven Washington county towns.

The Bank of Burlington was incorporated in 1818, after the bill had been defeated once in the Council by the casting vote of the Governor. Many counterfeit bills were in circulation in 1818.

At the opening of the season of Congress, late in the year 1818, Senator Palmer took his seat. The House committee assignments of Vermont members were: Claims, Rich; Elections, Merrill; Foreign Affairs, Allen; Indian Affairs, Richards; Public Expenditure, Hunter; Roads and Canals, Crafts. Early in 1819 Senator Tichenor introduced a bill providing for a better organization of the Treasury Department, a measure which he introduced again in 1820.

Rollin C. Mallary of Poultney contested the election of Congressman Merrill and on January 13, 1820, by a vote of 116 to 47 he was awarded the seat by the House of Representatives, after a long debate. Rollin C. Mallary was born in Cheshire, Conn., May 27, 1784, and coming to Vermont at an early age, graduated from Middlebury College in 1805. He studied law with Horatio Seymour at Middlebury and Robert Temple at Rutland, and practiced law at Castleton from 1807 to 1818, when he removed to Poultney, which was his home thereafter. He was Secretary to the Governor and Council, 1807-08, 1809-13 and 1815-20. He was State's Attorney of Rutland county from 1810 to 1813

and 1815 to 1816. His eminent career in Congress and his untimely death will be considered elsewhere.

The Federalist party no longer was an active force and until the rise of the Anti-Masonic party there was in Vermont no organized opposition to the Republican, later known as the Democratic party. No candidate was nominated against Governor Galusha in 1819. The result of the vote for Governor was, Galusha, 12,268; Bradley (probably William C.), 1,035; Dudley Chase, 658; scattering, 1,085. William A. Griswold of Danville was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives.

By this time the people had begun to feel hard times. In his inaugural address, Governor Galusha called attention to the fact that "while we enjoy all the means of wealth and happiness, (there is a general) complaint of the scarcity of circulating medium, and the consequent distress of individuals in discharging their private debts, and managing their own concerns." He was of the opinion that conditions called "loudly for investigation and reform." The lack of economy he considered the chief cause of the prevailing distress. He believed that where banks were most numerous and the means of credit the most easy, that the scarcity of money was the greatest. He seems to have been rather critical of banks and was opposed to their increase. He recommended the propriety of passing a law freeing the body of debtors from arrest and imprisonment for small debts. In closing, he recommended that the freemen of the State at the next election choose some other person for Governor. At the opening of the session Lieut.

Gov. Paul Brigham, who had held public office for more than forty years, gave notice that he would not be a candidate for reelection. Acts were passed exempting clergymen from taxation and abolishing imprisonment for debt if the amount owed was less than fifteen dollars.

The election of 1820 brought new men into the positions of Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Richard Skinner of Manchester being chosen to succeed Governor Galusha, and William Cahoon of Lyndon was the successful candidate for second place on the ticket. D. Azro A. Buck of Chelsea was elected Speaker. Samuel C. Crafts, Charles Rich and Rollin C. Mallary were reelected members of Congress. Three new Congressmen were chosen, Elias Keyes of Stockbridge, John Mattocks of Peacham and Phinehas White of Putney.

Elias Keyes was born in Ashford, Conn., April 14, 1757. He was one of the first settlers of Stockbridge and represented that town in the Legislature from 1793 to 1796, from 1798 to 1802, in 1818, in 1820 and from 1823 to 1825. He was a member of the Governor's Council from 1803 to 1813 and from 1815 to 1817. He served in the Constitutional Convention of 1814, was Assistant Judge of Windsor County Court from 1806 to 1814, and Chief Judge from 1815 until 1817. He served one term in Congress and died July 9, 1844.

John Mattocks was born in Hartford, Conn., March 4, 1777, being the son of Capt. Samuel Mattocks, a Revolutionary soldier. When he was only one year old he came to Vermont with his father. He studied law at Middlebury and at Fairfield and was admitted to the

bar in 1797. He began the practice of his profession at Danville, but removed soon to Peacham. In 1806 he was elected one of the directors of the Vermont State Bank. He represented Peacham in the Legislature in 1807, 1815-16, and 1823-24, and was a Brigadier General of the State militia in 1812. He served three terms in Congress, in 1821-23, 1825-27 and 1841-43. He was chosen a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1836 and was elected Governor on the Whig ticket in 1843, serving one term and declining a renomination. He died August 14, 1847.

Phinehas White was born in South Hadley, Mass., October 30, 1770. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1797, studied law with Charles Marsh at Woodstock and Judge Samuel Porter at Dummerston and began the practice of law at Putney in 1800. He was Register of Probate, 1800-09; Postmaster, 1802-09; State's Attorney, 1813; Judge of Probate, 1814-15; represented Putney in the Legislature, 1815-20; served one term in Congress; was a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1814 and 1836, and served in the State Senate, 1836-37. He was a prominent Mason, being Grand Master of the Grand Lodge. He died July 6, 1844.

Vermont's Presidential Electors in 1820 were Jonas Galusha of Shaftsbury, William Slade, Jr., of Middlebury, Gilbert Denison of Guilford, D. Azro A. Buck of Chelsea, Pliny Smith of Orwell, Ezra Butler of Waterbury, Aaron Leland of Chester and Timothy Stanley of Greensboro. The electoral vote of Vermont was cast for James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins. The

reelection of President Monroe would have been unanimous had it not been for the action of one of the New Hampshire Electors, who cast his vote for John Quincy Adams, believing that Washington alone should have the honor of an unopposed election.

Upon retiring from office, October 13, 1820, Governor Galusha expressed his gratitude for the honors he had received and expressed his best wishes for the prosperity of the State. A committee was appointed to draft an address and it was adopted without an opposing vote. A similar address was presented to Lieutenant Governor Brigham.

In his inaugural address Governor Skinner called attention to the need of more speedy justice in court proceedings, greater care in the settlement of estates, less frequent changes in the office of Judge of Probate, and amendment of the taxation laws. He declared that the action of Congress in admitting to the Union a State without a provision in its Constitution forbidding slavery "has caused general surprise through the State, and excited feelings of sincere regret." On many public questions Vermonters differed widely in their opinions but there was substantial unanimity in opposing the existence of slavery.

The people of the State had followed with interest the attitude of their Representatives and Senators at Washington toward the various bills relating to the admission of Missouri as a State. As early as 1818 Mr. Rich had sought to amend a fugitive slave bill so that any Negro or Mulatto should not be returned to slavery without first being brought into a court of record, where proof

should be furnished that the fugitive was a slave. A bill to prohibit the extension of slavery into United States Territories north and west of the proposed State of Missouri was referred to a select committee of which Senator Palmer was a member. On a motion absolutely and irrevocably to prohibit the holding of persons as slaves in Missouri, Senator Tichenor voted in the affirmative and Senator Palmer in the negative. Senator Tichenor voted against accepting the Missouri Compromise bill, and Senator Palmer was recorded as not voting. In the House Mr. Rich spoke in favor of an anti-slavery amendment to the Missouri bill and all of the Vermont Congressmen voted not to concur with the Senate in striking out the provision forbidding the holding of slaves.

When the Missouri bill came to the House, Mr. Mallary, in committee of the whole, moved to amend an amendment proposed by the Committee of Thirteen, of which Henry Clay was chairman, by declaring that the State Constitution should contain a provision "that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever be allowed in said State of Missouri, unless inflicted as a punishment for crimes committed against the laws of said State, whereof the party accused shall be duly convicted; provided that the civil condition of those persons who now are held to service in Missouri shall not be affected by the last provision." This amendment was defeated by a considerable majority. After the committee of the whole had been dissolved, Mr. Mallary renewed his motion, which was defeated by a vote of 107 to 61. In the debate on the citizenship of free colored

persons, a phase of the Missouri bill, Mr. Mallary participated, citing the Constitution of Vermont as a justification of his attitude. Thomas H. Benton, in his "Abridgement of the Debates of Congress," said of those who took part in this discussion. "These speakers were all eminent men, of weight in their day, and who will not be without it as long as their works shall be known."

The Vermont Legislature in 1819 had adopted a resolution, offered by Stephen Haight of Monkton, providing for the appointment of a committee of four members to inquire into the expediency of adopting a memorial to Congress urging that body to prohibit the further introduction of slavery into the Territories of the United States. Two weeks before its introduction the Vermont Colonization Society was organized to aid in the return of colored persons to Africa. Governor Galusha presided and some of the ablest men in Vermont were enrolled as members. Resolutions were adopted by the Legislature commending this work. The legislative committee appointed in accordance with Mr. Haight's motion reported on November 11, 1819, resolutions declaring that "the General Assembly of the State of Vermont view with deep concern the attempt to introduce slavery into the Territories of the United States; and to legalize it in States to be admitted to the Union. They regard it as a measure manifestly tending to increase and perpetuate an evil of no ordinary magnitude and danger." Senators were instructed and Representatives requested to act in accordance with the spirit of these resolutions. They were read and adopted, but

on November 16 the measure was reconsidered and dismissed.

The portion of Governor Skinner's speech referring to slavery, at the opening of the legislative session of 1820, was referred to a special committee of seven members, headed by Chauncey Langdon of Castleton, together with resolutions from the Legislature of Virginia on the same subject. This committee on November 15 presented at considerable length a report and resolutions which declared in language as strong as the English language would permit, Vermont's abhorrence of slavery and all its works. The report declared that "the history of nations demonstrates that involuntary servitude not only plunges the slave into the depths of misery, but renders a great proportion of (the) community dependent and wretched, and the remainder tyrannic and indolent. Opulence, acquired by the slavery of others, degenerates its possessors, and destroys the physical powers of government. Principles so degrading are inconsistent with the primitive dignity of man and his natural right. Slavery is incompatible with the vital principles of all free governments, and tends to their ruin. It paralyzes industry, the greatest source of national wealth, stifles the love of freedom, and endangers the safety of the Nation. It is prohibited by the laws of nature, which are equally binding on governments and individuals. The right to introduce and establish slavery in a free government does not exist. * * * If Missouri be permitted to introduce and legalize slavery by her Constitution, and we consent to her admission, we shall justly incur the charge of insin-

cerity in our civil institutions, and in all our professions of attachment to liberty. It will bring upon the Constitution and Declaration of Independence a deep stain, which cannot be forgotten or blotted out! 'It will deeply affect the Union in its resources, political interests and character.'

"The admission of another new State into the Union with a Constitution which guarantees security and protection to slavery, and the cruel and unnatural traffic of (in) any portion of the human race, will be an error which the Union cannot correct, and an evil which may endanger the freedom of the Nation.

"Congress never ought, and we trust never will, plant the standard of the Union in Missouri, to wave over the heads of involuntary slaves, 'who have nothing they can call their own, except their sorrows and their sufferings,' and a life beyond the grave—and who can never taste the sweets of liberty, unless they obtain it by force or by flight. Nor can a community, made up of masters and slaves, ever enjoy the blessings of liberty, and the benefits of free government; these enjoyments are reserved for a community of freemen, who are subject to none, but to God and the laws.

"The Committee therefore submit for the consideration of the General Assembly the following resolutions, viz.:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Legislature, slavery, or involuntary servitude, in any of the United States, is a moral and political evil, and that its continuance can be justified by necessity alone. That Congress has a right to inhibit any further introduction, or

extension of slavery, as one of the conditions upon which any new State shall be admitted into the Union.

"Resolved, That this Legislature views with regret and alarm the attempt of the inhabitants of Missouri to obtain admission into the Union as one of the United States, under a Constitution which legalizes and secures the introduction and continuance of slavery—and also contains provisions to prevent freemen of the United States from emigrating to and settling in Missouri, on account of their origin, color and features. And that in the opinion of this Legislature, these principles, powers and restrictions, contained in the reputed (reported) Constitution of Missouri, are anti-republican and repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and subversive of the inalienable rights of man.

"Resolved, That the Senators from this State in the Congress of the United States be instructed, and the Representatives requested, to exert their influence and use all legal measures to prevent the admission of Missouri as a State into the Union of the United States, with those anti-republican features and powers in their Constitution.

"Resolved, That the Secretary of State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions to each of the Senators and Representatives from this State in the Congress of the United States."

The report and resolutions presented by the committee were adopted by the House and by the Council without a division.

Thus, on the threshold of the slavery controversy, which, for forty years, was to be waged in Congress

with ever increasing intensity and bitterness, Vermont made her position so plain that there could be no shadow of doubt concerning it. The fact that Senator Palmer on certain roll calls—not on all of them—was found voting with the Senators who upheld slavery, subjected him to severe criticism at home.

In 1821 Rev. Joseph R. Andrus, a native of Cornwall, sailed for the west coast of Africa in charge of a colony of Negroes as the first agent of the American Colonization Society. The climate proved unhealthful and he died a few months after his arrival.

The Vermont Legislature, in 1820, found it inexpedient to concur in an amendment to the United States Constitution proposed by the State of Pennsylvania, providing that every bank or moneyed institution incorporated by Congress, together with its branches should be confined to the District of Columbia. A communication from former Governor Galusha to Governor Skinner conveyed the information that a settlement had been obtained with the United States Government for expenses incurred in the War of 1812 for rations, transportation of baggage, etc., the sum of $4,421.18 having been received in payment therefor.

The term of Senator Isaac Tichenor continued for several years after the Federalist party which elected him had ceased to be an important factor in political affairs. It became the duty of the Legislature of 1820 to elect his successor for the term beginning in March, 1821, and Horatio Seymour of Middlebury was chosen. He was born in Litchfield, Conn., May 31, 1778, being one of a numerous group of men prominent in the early

period of Vermont history, who were natives of Litchfield county, Connecticut. He graduated from Yale College in the class of 1797, taught school for a year, attended the Litchfield law school for a year, and came to Middlebury in 1799, where he continued his legal studies with Daniel Chipman, being admitted to the bar in 1800. He was a member of the Council from 1809 to 1813, was Postmaster for nine years, State's Attorney for Addison county, 1810-13 and 1815-19, served as United States Senator for two terms, was the Whig candidate for Governor in 1833 and 1834, and Judge of Probate, 1847-55. He died November 21, 1857.

A Council of Censors was elected in 1820, its members being William Hunter of Windsor, Charles Rich of Shoreham, Joel Brownson of Richmond, Joseph Scott of Craftsbury, Augustine Clark of Montpelier, Isaac N. Cushman of Woodstock, William Nutting of Randolph, John Phelps of Guilford, Joel Pratt of Manchester, Amos Thompson of Poultney, Asa Aldis of St. Albans, Jedediah Hyde of Grand Isle and Joshua Y. Vail of Montpelier. Three sessions of the Council were held at Montpelier, the first, June 6-7, 1820; the second, October 17-27, 1820; the third, March 15-26, 1821. This body reported to the Governor and Council that the law requiring the levying of a tax of one cent on the dollar of the list of the polls and ratable estate of the inhabitants of the State for the support of schools was neglected in many towns; and the law was considered defective, as it failed to impose a penalty for neglect. The law regulating the rate of interest had been "grossly and openly violated by a large proportion

of our moneyed citizens throughout the State"; and the laws regarding the sale of spirituous liquors had not been strictly executed. Five constitutional amendments were proposed. They provided that the legislative power should be vested in an Executive Council and the House of Representatives; that the executive power should be vested in a Governor and Lieutenant Governor; that there should be two Representatives in the Legislature for every two thousand inhabitants and a Council of one member from each county; the membership of the House never to be less than one hundred and twenty or more than one hundred and fifty, no county to have fewer than three members or more than the number of towns it contained; that no member of the Legislature during his term of office should be appointed Judge of a court, High Bailiff, Sheriff, State's Attorney, Justice of the Peace or an officer of the State Prison; that the Governor should not grant pardons, remit fines, or command the State forces in person except by advice of the Council; that Judges of the Supreme Court should not be eligible to hold town or other State offices; that these Judges should be chosen for terms of seven years, and should be subject to removal by impeachment or by joint resolution if two-thirds of the whole number voted in the affirmative. A Constitutional Convention was called, which held a two days' session at Montpelier, February 21-22, 1822. Every proposal of amendment was rejected, most of them by large majorities. The amendment concerning the right of Supreme Court Judges to hold other offices received 93 votes, while 121

were cast against it. This was the only one of the five proposals submitted which was largely supported.

During the summer of 1820, Thomas Macdonough, the hero of Plattsburg, visited Vermont and the scene of his famous victory, being welcomed with much enthusiasm.

The census of 1820 showed a population of 235,981 in Vermont, a gain of 18,086, or 8.3 per cent. Most of the counties made very small gains. Washington's gain was the largest, while Windsor and Orange increased substantially in population. The town of Windsor stood at the head of the list with 2,956 inhabitants. A few of the more populous towns reported as follows: Woodstock, 2,610; Springfield, 2,702; Hartland, 2,553; Middlebury, 2,535; Chester, 2,493; Randolph, 2,487; Bennington, 2,485; Rutland, 2,369; Montpelier, 2,308; Weathersfield, 2,301; Danville, 2,300; Rockingham, 2,155; Pawlet, 2,155; Burlington, 2,111; Shaftsbury, 2,022; Brattleboro, 2,017; Hartford, 2,010; Tunbridge, 2,003. The number of females exceeded the number of males by slightly over two hundred, and 750 free colored persons were reported. Sixty-six Vermont towns showed a decrease in number of inhabitants. Some of the Vermont losses were as follows: Rupert, 298; Halifax, 191; Middletown, 168; Charlotte, 153; Shoreham, 152; Cornwall, 150; Wardsboro, 149; Bristol, 128; Danby, 127; Highgate, 124; New Haven, 122; Orwell, 119; Arlington, 109.

McMaster calls attention to the fact that this decade, from 1810 to 1820, is the only census period in the Nation's history in which "the population of the cities

failed to increase at a much more rapid rate than the population of the rural districts."

Agricultural and industrial statistics are very meagre for this period and for several decades following. The total value of manufactures in Vermont amounted to $890,353, divided as follows: Woolen goods, $198,659; cotton goods, $49,882; pig iron and castings, $85,400; wrought iron, $33,340; products of breweries and distilleries, $63,314; all other manufactures, $459,758. In 1820 there were nine paper mills in the State. There were 776 persons engaged in commerce; 8,484 in manufacturing; and 50,951 in agriculture.

Practically every town had at least one tannery, and shoemakers travelled from farm to farm with kits of tools. At one time there were ten shoemakers in the town of Ryegate. Some of them had shops and employed apprentices. Others were farmers in the summer and made shoes in the winter. Carpenters had shops in which they manufactured doors, sash and blinds, furniture, coffins, wagons and sleighs during the winter months. Tailors and tailoresses went from house to house, making garments.

Houses were lighted with candles, which were placed in iron or brass candlesticks, or in blocks of wood. Oil lamps began to be used about 1820, but did not come into general use. Sperm oil was used later, but these lamps smoked and gave forth an unpleasant odor. Several compounds were used, one of which, camphene, gave a bright light, but exploded easily. Kerosene did not come into use until much later. Stoves for heating began to be used as early as 1800, while stoves for cook-

ing came into use about 1818 or 1820; but for many years, in some instances until well toward the period of the Civil War, brick ovens were used for baking. "Oven wood," split into small pieces, was burned in these large receptacles until the whole mass of brick was thoroughly heated, then the fire was drawn, the oven swept with an oven broom, and in it were placed meat, pots of beans, loaves of bread, pastry, etc. The contents were watched carefully, and from time to time the various articles were taken out when properly cooked. The flavor of viands baked in a brick oven was said to be particularly appetizing.

The iron plow came into use in Ryegate about 1820. The earlier plows were of wood with iron points and an iron plate on the mouldboard. Winnowing or fanning mills came into use five years earlier, and bent scythe snaths were introduced about 1815. Local blacksmiths made the first harrows by inserting iron teeth in the forked branches of trees. The first horse rake was used in Ryegate in 1835, the first cultivator in 1850 and the first mowing machine in 1853.

Until about 1840 eight dollars a month and board was considered a reasonable wage for farm hands. Occasionally one dollar a day was paid for extra help during the haying and harvesting season. In 1810 one dollar a day sometimes was paid to a good carpenter, who furnished his own tools. Articles made by hand included shoes for oxen and horses, scythes, locks and hinges. Iron was scarce and high in price, and old scythes were utilized for making horse shoes. In 1830 there were nine blacksmith shops in Ryegate.

Farmers usually marketed wheat, butter, pork, hides and other products in winter, when the roads were better than in summer, as the snow covered the rough places. Butter was stored in cool cellars and in the early winter the farmers in the eastern part of the State were accustomed to make a trip to Boston with their produce, purchasing tea, coffee, spices, white sugar, tobacco, and other articles not raised on Vermont farms.

Some business was done by water. Boats used on the Connecticut River would carry about twenty-five tons of merchandise. Square sails were used in the middle of the boat. A crew of seven men furnished most of the motive power for propelling the boats up stream, three men on a side pushing with spike poles, while the captain steered with a wide oar at the stern. Clapboards, shingles, etc., were carried down the river, and iron products, salt, rum, sugar, molasses and other heavy articles, in some instances were brought back as far as Wells River, the head of navigation. Sometimes pine boats were broken up and sold at the end of the trip but oak boats were more substantially built. Rafts of lumber sent down stream to Hartford, Conn., usually were sixty feet long and thirteen feet wide, just the proper size to pass through the locks. The trip from Wells River to Hartford, Conn., and return took about twenty-five days. The freight charges were heavy. In 1816 a Danville merchant wrote the *New Hampshire Patriot* that he had paid at the rate of thirty-two dollars per ton for transportation of merchandise by water. Much of the freight was transported by land, and merchants kept their own teams on the road.

Early in January, 1820, Congressman Rich introduced a resolution providing that the Committee on Manufactures be instructed to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting (except for the export trade) the importation of distilled spirits and malt liquors, all goods made from cotton or flax, all kinds of glassware and window glass, iron in bars, rods, etc., all manufactures of sheet iron, lead, copper or tin, all paper, all manufactures of leather, all hats and ready made clothing; and to inquire into the expediency of levying an excise duty upon domestic articles substituted. The resolution was laid on the table. On the Baldwin tariff bill, reported in April, 1820, increasing duties to some extent, Congressman Rich of Vermont voted to order the bill to a third reading, Congressmen Crafts and Mallary voted against the measure, and their colleagues, Messrs. Meech, Richards and Strong, were reported absent. In 1820 Senator Tichenor was assigned to the committees on Militia and Pensions; Senator Palmer, to Post-Offices and Post-Roads. The committee assignments of Vermont members of the House were as follows: Agriculture, Meech; Claims, Rich; Commerce, Mallary; Militia, Strong; Roads and Canals, and Public Buildings, Crafts. Later Mr. Mattocks of Vermont was added to the Public Buildings Committee, which was directed to consider the practicability of improving Representatives' Hall.

Governor Skinner was reelected in 1821, receiving 12,434 votes. The only opposition came from 163 scattering votes. In his inaugural address the Governor called attention to the report of the Council of Censors concerning the violation of the law regulating the rate

of interest. He alluded to the importance of encouraging manufactures, and referred to the prevailing hard times in these words: "At a period like the present, when the price of every commodity produced in the State is depressed almost beyond example, it will afford me the highest satisfaction to aid in every measure calculated to advance the great interest of agriculture."

Speaker D. Azro A. Buck was reelected. Resolutions were adopted declaring that each State "has an equal right to participate in the benefit of the public lands, as common property of the Union," and that States which had not received appropriations of land for educational purposes were entitled to a just proportion of the same. It was ordered that copies should be sent to Vermont Senators and Representatives in Congress and to the Governors of the several States. The Committee on Military Affairs reported resolutions, which were adopted, setting forth the evils resulting from the custom which required militia officers to treat those under their command to "ardent spirits." The demoralizing effects were cited and it was declared that the expense was so burdensome that few officers could bear it long. The Brattleboro Bank was incorporated with a capital stock of one hundred thousand dollars, and the Bellows Falls and Burlington aqueduct companies were chartered. Daniel Chipman was appointed agent to examine and collect the records of the Council of Safety and arrange them for publication.

A report printed in *Niles' Register* in December, 1821, showed the revenue received by Vermont during the

year to have been $53,292, with expenditures amounting in the aggregate to $43,382.

Congressman Mallary was appointed a member of a committee to report a bill apportioning Representatives according to the Fourth Census. Under the apportionment made, Vermont lost one Congressman. Senator Seymour was assigned to the Committees on Militia and Pensions, and Senator Palmer retained his membership on the Post-Office Committee. The assignments in the House included the following: Claims, Rich; District of Columbia, Mallary; Expenditures in the Navy Department, White; Expenditures in the Treasury Department, Keyes; Public Expenditures, Crafts. The interest of Mr. Rich in the promotion of manufacturing was shown in a resolution which he introduced, instructing the Secretary of the Treasury to report the amount of wool imported into the United States during the years 1817-20 and the first nine months of 1821; and the amount of wool exported.

That portion of President Monroe's message delivered at the opening of Congress late in the year 1821, relating to manufactures and the promotion of national industry, was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, the majority of which reported that it was inexpedient at that time to legislate on the subject. On January 7, 1822, Congressman Rich offered the following resolution, indicating the growing sentiment in favor of a protective tariff: "Resolved, That the Committee on Ways and Means be instructed to prepare and report a bill providing for a moderate annual increase of duties for a term of years upon the importation of such com-

Sherburne Valley

modities as can, with the protection common in other countries, and a convenient application of the means of the citizens of the United States, be produced in abundance from domestic materials, and for moderate excise upon similar domestic commodities; to commence at a convenient period and be made annually progressive until it shall have reached an amount deemed proper for a permanent excise duty." Mr. Rich's speech advocating the resolution, as reported in *Niles' Register,* occupies about three pages.

Congressman Mallary, with the foresight of a statesman, offered a resolution, which was rejected, directing the Committee on Naval Affairs to inquire into the expediency of establishing one or more naval schools. The United States Naval Academy was established more than twenty years later, in 1845. Mr. Keyes advocated the Revolutionary Pension bill in a forceful speech. Reports of this session show Congressmen Rich and Mallary to have been among the most active members of the House.

It was reported in the summer of 1822 that the Vermont law, staying all proceedings against insolvent debtors for a term of years, had been declared unconstitutional by the Circuit Court on the ground that it impaired the obligation of contracts. In 1822 there were 1,655 miles of post-roads in Vermont and mail was actually carried over 1,598 miles of these highways.

Governor Skinner was reelected in 1822. Congressmen Crafts, Mallary and Rich were reelected and William C. Bradley again was sent to the National House of Representatives. In his inaugural address the Gov-

ernor alluded to the disparity between roads in various Vermont towns, some of them being seriously neglected. He opposed the establishment of any more banks, referring to "the ruinous effect" of their multiplication in the interior of the country. He also alluded to the encouragement of manufactures. He announced at the close of his address that he would not be a candidate for reelection.

Speaker D. Azro A. Buck of Chelsea was elected for another term but resigned on November 11, shortly before the end of the session, having been elected a Member of Congress. He was a son of Daniel Buck, who was a member of Congress from 1795 to 1797, and was born in Norwich, Vt., April 19, 1789. He graduated from Middlebury College in 1807, was a student at the United States Military Academy at West Point, and was commissioned a Lieutenant in the Army of 1808. In 1811, he resigned to study law, but raised a company of rangers in 1813, becoming a Captain in the Twenty-first U. S. Regiment. He practiced law at Chelsea and represented the town in the Legislature from 1816 to 1822, 1825-26, 1829-30 and 1833-35, being Speaker for six years. His period of service in the Legislature is one of the longest on record. He was State's Attorney of Orange county, 1819-22, 1830-32 and 1833-34. He was a Presidential Elector in 1820 and served six years in Congress. After his term of service had ended he remained in Washington, where he died, December 24, 1840.

The enactments of the Vermont Legislature of 1822 included a rearrangement of Congressional districts

made necessary by the reduction in number from six to five.

The First District included the counties of Bennington and Windham and the Rutland county towns of Pawlet, Danby and Mount Tabor.

The Second District was made up of Addison county and Rutland county with the exception of the towns included in the First District.

The Third District included Windsor county and the Orange county towns of Braintree, Randolph, Strafford, Thetford and Tunbridge.

In the Fourth District were included the counties of Chittenden, Grand Isle and Orleans.

The Fifth District contained Essex, Caledonia and Washington counties and all of Orange county with the exception of the towns included in the Third District.

The Committee on Manufactures, to which was referred that portion of the Governor's speech relating to manufactures, reported that Vermont could raise as fine wool as any part of the world; that the State abounded "with ores and with forests for the miners and colliers, ample for the manufacture of iron in all its varieties, and equal to the calls of the State consumption, and ultimately for export." Great advantages would result "provided capital could be allured to these objects by the affinity and patronage of our laws." Reference was made to the obstacles encountered by Vermont manufacturers of cotton and woolen goods, the report declaring: "The injudicious policy pursued at the close of the late war sacrificed millions of property of this class of our fellow citizens; their establishments went into a state of

deterioration and decay, or passed to the hands of their creditors for, perhaps, one quarter of their actual cost. From this state of depression and compression of their means, they have been able to do a little business, but are not generally in a flourishing state. * * *

"Our country and our State should follow up the mode of policy which is pursued by the greatest manufacturing interest in the world. We should sit on our woolsacks in order to encourage the wool growers; we should give bounties and grant prohibitions, until the branches of our manufacturing rise to an equal level with other orders, graduated to the wants they supply, and then, like others, let them bear equal burthens in publick expenditure, and the support of protection. To manufacture a sufficiency for our own wants and consumption, we believe it a conceded point, would add measureless advantage and vigor to the morals, productive industry and independence of our common country."

The committee recommended the following resolution, which was adopted: "Resolved, the Governor and Council concurring herein, That our Senators be instructed and our Representatives be requested, to use every exertion and render every aid in their power to any measure which may be put in progress by the wisdom of the Congress of the United States, for the protection and encouragement of the manufacturing interest of the Nation."

The Committee on Manufactures was authorized to investigate the propriety of granting bounties for the encouragement of the making and refining of maple sugar.

The Judiciary Committee was instructed to inquire into the expediency of passing a law establishing a uniform school system.

Information concerning the building of Vermont highways is found in the report of a debate in Congress in February, 1823, on the Cumberland Road appropriation, one of the important measures embraced in the policy which advocated a system of internal improvements. Mr. White of Vermont, referring to Mr. Keyes, a member from the same State, said: "An honorable member, my venerable and worthy colleague, from his own private funds, has expended more than forty thousand dollars in making a road across the Green Mountains, and though the traveller pays a high toll for passing thereon, for nearly twenty years past this road has not yielded the proprietor one cent more than sufficient to make the necessary repairs." Later Mr. Keyes spoke on the bill, opposing a provision to permit certain States through which the road passed to have possession and take toll. Referring to Vermont roads, he said: "In that part of the country where I live (Stockbridge) when I first went into it, when we had to travel the roads with a cart or wagon loaded with six or eight hundredweight, we had to employ half a dozen men to hang on one side or the other, to keep the cart from turning over; but since we have constructed our turnpike roads, one man can drive his team with a load of two or three tons on his wagon. * * * The farms and wild lands which they go through or lead to are worth double as much as they ever would have been without having these roads made to travel upon."

The people of Vermont were interested in other methods of transportation. The steamboat traffic on Lake Champlain had now become an established system. It has been claimed that Samuel Morey of Fairlee, and not Robert Fulton, was the inventor of the steamboat. It is probably true that Morey's inventions in applying steam to water navigation antedate those of Fulton, but several men were at work on this problem about the same time, and James Ramsey and John Fitch apparently began their experiments about five years before Morey made his first attempts in 1790. Before 1793 he had equipped a small boat with an engine, using wood for fuel, and launched his craft on the Connecticut River. He made his trial trip on Sunday to avoid observation and ridicule. The boat was crude, with a paddlewheel in front, but the attempt to operate it was a success. After perfecting his engine and making several trips on the river, Morey took his invention to New York, where he met Chancellor Livingston and Robert Fulton, and explained to them his engine. For three successive summers Morey went to New York, where he made several improvements on his craft, one being the change of the paddlewheel from the bow to the stern of the boat. He could make about five miles an hour with this craft. It is said that Chancellor Livingston offered Captain Morey a "considerable sum" for his invention, which was refused.

Finding the climate of New York unhealthful, Morey went to Bordentown, N. J., and in June, 1797, constructed a steamboat on the Delaware River. The craft was propelled by two wheels, one on each side, connected

with the engine, the same principle used for many years by sidewheel steamers. A patent had been taken out by Morey, March 25, 1795. This boat was exhibited in Philadelphia. In an article written for the *Boston Recorder* in 1858, by Rev. Cyrus Mann, who, as a boy, knew Captain Morey and saw his invention, it was asserted that on his later visits to New York Morey was treated with coldness and neglect by Livingston and Fulton; and the article asserted that the Vermonter was robbed of the credit for his invention and the profits that would have resulted therefrom.

The world's second successful steamboat was built by John and James Winans and J. Lough, was named the *Vermont,* and was operated on Lake Champlain. This craft was 120 feet long, 20 feet wide and of 167 tons burden. Fulton's *Clermont* was 100 feet long, 12 feet wide, and of 160 tons burden. Steamboat traffic was hindered by the War of 1812, but gradually developed in spite of ridicule and the rivalry of sailing vessels.

Early in the Nineteenth century the construction of the Champlain Canal introduced a new factor in lake navigation. The Northern Inland Lake Navigation Company in 1792 secured a charter for the construction of a canal between Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, and more than one hundred thousand dollars was spent, although no real progress was made. In a report of the New York Canal Commission, presented March 19, 1817, reference was made to the desirability of a Champlain Canal, and the lumber and iron resources of the region and the great deposits of Vermont marble

were cited as arguments for the construction of such a waterway. A preliminary survey was made and on April 15, 1817, a bill authorizing the construction of the Champlain Canal was passed by the New York Legislature, work being begun the same year. Whitehall, at the head of Lake Champlain, and Waterford, on the Hudson River, were the terminal points.

The canal was regularly opened for traffic in the autumn of 1823. The canal boat *Gleaner,* a craft built in St. Albans, owned by Julius Hoyt, N. W. Kingman and John Taylor of that town, commanded by Capt. William Burton, and carrying a cargo of one thousand, two hundred bushels of wheat, a quantity of potash, and other commodities, was the first boat to pass through the new waterway, a few weeks in advance of the formal opening. The *Gleaner* was compelled to wait at Waterford a few days for the completion of the locks into the Hudson. The boat was accompanied to Troy by a procession of gaily dressed boats, and on her arrival there she was met by a large crowd of people and greeted with a salute of artillery. Two of the proprietors, Mr. Hoyt and Mr. Kingman, were passengers on the *Gleaner* and they were escorted by a procession with music to the Troy House, where a public dinner was given in their honor. The boat was greeted at Albany, Poughkeepsie and other large river towns, and at New York City exercises similar to those at Troy, but on a larger scale, were held in honor of the opening of the canal. The veteran artillery was ordered out and a salute was fired from a battery. A New York poet was inspired to

write a song on this occasion in which the St. Albans boat was called "the Barque of the Mountains."

Previous to the opening of the canal it had taken from twenty-five to thirty days to transport goods from New York to St. Albans, at an expense varying from twenty-five to thirty dollars per ton. The time required by canal boats was from ten to fourteen days, and the cost was reduced approximately to ten dollars per ton. The opening of the Champlain Canal diverted to New York considerable commerce from Vermont which had gone previously to Boston, Mass., Hartford, Conn., and Portland, Me. It served also largely to increase the importance of Burlington as a port.

In its issue of August 27, 1825, *Niles' Register* said: "The canal which unites Lake Champlain to the Hudson is completed and has increased the business of that part of the State which lies west of the Green Mountains many fold already. * * * The mountain tops are covering with sheep and the pleasant valleys and plains are filled with cattle—the thousand streams of water, running in every direction—are beginning to be applied to the great business of manufacturing iron, wool, etc., and the invaluable mines with which the State abounds, are no longer to be useless, because that their products cannot be transported to market. The Vermont iron, on account of its peculiar qualities, is of real national importance, and the quantity is inexhaustible. The manufacture has not hitherto been large, but it is about to become a great business. We observe also that there is a copperas factory in the State, at which three hundred tons will be made in the present year—and the

mineral supply is such that any amount to be required can be made.

"At the village of Middlebury it is estimated that seventy tons of wool were purchased by the merchants and sent to New York, Boston, etc. But yet the great reliance of the town is in its own manufactories. Otter Creek flows through it, and the following works are already in operation—three flour mills, three sawmills, one furnace, one marble sawing mill, one paper mill, one oil mill, two cotton factories and a third building—one of them is capable of holding ten thousand, five hundred spindles:—four thousand, eight hundred spindles with sixty-eight power looms are now actually at work at Middlebury. The business of Burlington is equally great and prosperous, and many of the smaller towns and villages are doing a large business. The progress of these things cannot be stopped."

In accordance with his previous announcement, Governor Skinner declined to be a candidate for reelection in 1823, and Cornelius P. Van Ness of Burlington was elected, receiving 11,479 votes. Dudley Chase received 1,088, and 843 scattering votes were cast. Governor Van Ness was a member of a distinguished family of Dutch origin, and was born in Kinderhook, N. Y., January 26, 1782. At the age of fifteen years he was fitted to enter the junior class of Columbia College, but changed his plans and did not take up collegiate work. Later he studied law in the office of his brother William, Martin Van Buren being a fellow student. He was admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession in his native town. In 1806 he removed to St.

Albans, Vt., and in 1809 located at Burlington. In 1810, upon the recommendation of Judge Brockholst Livingston of the United States Supreme Court, President Madison appointed him United States District Attorney for Vermont. He held this office until 1813, when he was appointed Collector of Customs, a position which he retained until the close of the second war with Great Britain. Reference already has been made to the important service rendered by him as Boundary Commissioner. From 1818 to 1821 he represented Burlington in the Legislature, where he took an active part in debate and in the shaping of legislative policies. During the years 1821 and 1822 he served the State as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He held the office of Governor for three years, declining further service in that position. His subsequent career will be considered later. He died December 15, 1852.

George E. Wales of Hartford, who had been chosen as Speaker late in the session of 1822 to fill out the unexpired term of D. Azro A. Buck, was reelected. In his inaugural speech Governor Van Ness made an earnest plea for the development of manufacturing interests and the need of a protective tariff. He referred to a recent decision by the United States Supreme Court whereby the schools of the State were deprived of the revenue from the rent of lands originally granted by the British Government to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He called attention to the fact that in accordance with an act passed in 1817 the Secretary of State had reported that there were seventy deaf and dumb persons in the State. In congratulating the

people of Vermont upon the opening of the Champlain Canal by New York, he said: "A new era has indeed burst upon us when we can hear of the arrival of vessels at the city of New York from the northern extremity of Vermont." During this session the law providing imprisonment for debt was modified and made less harsh. All horse racing for any bet or stakes in money, or for any purse or premium, was declared a "common and public nuisance," and was made an offence against the State. Provision was made for the appointment of an Inspector General of beef and pork, such officer to have power to appoint at least one deputy in each county. Resolutions were adopted instructing the Vermont delegation in Congress to support all lawful measures for the encouragement and protection of manufactures. A bill to choose Presidential Electors by popular vote was dismissed. At this time the annual salary of the Governor was seven hundred and fifty dollars; that of the Secretary of State, four hundred and fifty dollars, and of the State Treasurer, four hundred dollars.

According to statistics published in *Niles' Register*, December 6, 1823, there were in Vermont at that time twenty-seven cotton and woolen factories, thirteen paper mills, two hundred and eighty-six fulling mills, two hundred and fifty carding machines, three hundred and eighty grain mills and about one hundred and fifty distilleries. There were also two hundred and twenty-four lawyers, three hundred and eighty physicians, two hundred and thirty-five churches and one thousand, five hundred and seventy-five school houses. There were

one thousand Revolutionary pensioners in Vermont on March 1, 1823.

The overthrow of Spanish government in South America during President Monroe's administration was an event that aroused the sympathy of the people of the United States, and the new American republics found an ardent champion in Henry Clay, who, in 1820, secured the passage of a resolution declaring that it was expedient to provide a suitable outfit and salary for such Ministers as might be sent by this country to any of the South American governments which had established their independence. It was not until 1822 that President Monroe recommended recognition of the new republican governments which had won their independence from Spain, and he suggested that an appropriation should be made to enable him to send Ministers to these countries. Congress responded promptly in what is said to have been the most popular act of the session. Following the policy thus established, and during the year 1823, made memorable toward its close by the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, the President appointed as the first American Minister to Chili, Heman Allen of Colchester. He was a son of Heber Allen and a nephew of Ethan and Ira Allen. At the time of his appointment he was United States Marshal for Vermont. To distinguish him from Heman Allen of Milton, in later years he was known as "Chili" Allen. He was received in the Chilian capital on April 22, 1824, with great enthusiasm and much pomp, and speeches were exchanged. Mr. Allen remained as Minister during the

remainder of Monroe's administration and until near the end of John Quincy Adams' term, in 1828.

In February, 1823, Mr. White of Vermont offered a resolution providing that a part of the proceeds of the public lands should be set aside for the general purpose of education.

Mr. Mallary of Vermont offered a resolution in Congress on December 23, 1823, asking the President to lay before the House such information as he might possess, which might properly be disclosed, relative to any combination of sovereigns to assist Spain in the subjugation of her late American colonies; and whether any European government was disposed to oppose such combination. This resolution relating to the so-called "Holy Alliance" was agreed to without opposition. In a speech made by Mr. Mallary on December 26, referring to the President's Message, in which the Monroe Doctrine was announced, he said: "The President would not have warned the two Houses of Congress that all their firmness would be called for, if there were not something of serious moment on the political horizon not seen by all."

At the opening of the session of Congress in December, 1823, Senator Seymour was made Chairman of the Committee on Accounts and Senator Palmer was made a member of the Committee on Claims. Among the committee assignments in the House were the following: Claims, Rich; Elections, Mallary; Public Expenditures, Crafts; Public Lands, Bradley. In a call dated February 6, 1824, Republican members of Congress were invited to meet in Representatives' Hall, on the evening

of February 14, to recommend candidates for President and Vice President. The call was headed by the name of Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, and among the signers were Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina and Charles Rich of Vermont. No Vermont members attended this caucus which nominated William H. Crawford of Georgia for President and Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania for Vice President. Only two out of thirteen Vermont newspapers are reported as favoring the caucus. William Jarvis, a former United States Consul to Portugal, who had been active in introducing Merino sheep into the United States, had become a power in Vermont politics. He had visited the Vermont Legislature and secured the calling of a convention which indorsed the Presidential candidacy of John Quincy Adams.

Vermont was becoming thoroughly interested in a protective tariff. To this policy and to an intense hatred of slavery, may be traced, in no inconsiderable degree, the political alignments of Vermont since the rise of the Whig party. When the tariff bill of 1824 was under discussion on February 27, Mr. Mallary followed James Buchanan in supporting the bill "in an able speech of three hours." His attitude had changed from hostility to support of a protective tariff. On motion of Mr. Rich of Vermont, by a vote of 103 to 97, the House provided for an ad valorem duty on woolens, the author of this resolution believing that this change, which carried a reduction of duties, was necessary to the passage of the bill. All the Vermont Congressmen supported this tariff measure. Mr. Mallary and Mr.

Rich were prominent in the tariff debates. Apparently Vermont members of the House were more prominent in public affairs at this time than Vermont Senators. It was reported in newspapers of the period that the iron business of Vermont was encouraged by the new tariff. *Niles' Register* in its issue of July 23, 1825, reported that increased attention was being paid to the raising of sheep in Vermont, since the duty levied on foreign wool assured the farmers of stability in the home market.

About the time that Mathew Carey and Henry Clay began to advocate a protective tariff, former Consul William Jarvis of Weathersfield, Vt., became interested in the subject, and wrote and published several pamphlets on this theme. He is said to have spent ten thousand dollars in collecting and disseminating information on the subject. In 1823 he prepared a memorial to Congress, giving a description of the benefits of such a policy and a history of protective tariffs in Great Britain. This memorial was signed by many Vermonters. For several years the Governors of the State in their inaugural speeches, had advocated the encouragement of American manufactures. Copies of this memorial were sent to the Vermont Congressional delegation and to Henry Clay. The document is said to have had considerable effect in inducing Congress to support a protective policy. About the year 1824, James Perkins of Boston established a broadcloth factory on the Black River, the village being named Perkinsville in his honor. Mr. Jarvis sent some of his best Merino wool to the Perkins factory, where it was made into black broadcloth. A full pattern for a suit of clothes was sent

by Mr. Jarvis to Henry Clay as a specimen of the degree of perfection which Vermont manufactures had attained.

Governor Van Ness was reelected in 1824 without serious opposition, receiving 13,413 votes. Joel Doolittle of Middlebury received 1,962, and the scattering votes numbered 346. Congressmen Mallary, Bradley, Rich and Meech were reelected, and John Mattocks, elected in 1820 as a member of Congress, succeeded Mr. Buck.

In his inaugural address Governor Van Ness referred to the passage of a tariff bill, of which he said that, "although falling short of the just expectations of friends of domestick industry it is to be hoped (it) will lead to further measures, and in the end prove to have been but the commencement of a system that alone can exalt this nation to that lofty eminence which, by a wise direction of her resources, she is destined to occupy." The Governor recommended a revision of the militia and the school laws, larger revenue for education, and less oppressive laws dealing with debtors. Reference was made to the appointment of George P. Marsh to collect information relative to deaf and dumb persons, and to the employment of Daniel Webster as counsel for the State in a suit brought by the town of New Haven relative to the rights of land granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He strongly favored the choice of Presidential Electors by popular vote rather than by the Legislature, and urged that an invitation should be extended to General Lafayette to visit the State before he returned to France.

George E. Wales of Hartford was elected Speaker. The work of the session included an act providing that on and after the second Tuesday of November, 1828, Presidential Electors should be chosen by the freemen. A bill making the law immediately effective was defeated by a vote of 183 to 23. Many members had been chosen with instructions to support certain candidates for Electors, and the time was considered too short to put in operation a law providing for a choice by popular vote in November, 1824. The Supreme Court, as constituted, consisted of a Chief Justice, who should be one of the Judges of the Court, and two Assistant Justices. The Bank of Rutland was incorporated and a charter was granted to the Connecticut River Company, the purpose of which was the improvement of the navigation of the Connecticut River, and power was granted to construct locks and canals, operate steamboats, etc. That portion of the Governor's message relating to General Lafayette was referred to a special committee, which expressed "feelings of attachment and veneration for him who is emphatically styled the 'Nation's Guest'." The report continued: "As a nation we owe him a debt of gratitude. Vermont, in common with her sister States, will rejoice in an opportunity of manifesting it by a solemn and public act." A resolution was adopted formally inviting General Lafayette, in behalf of the people of the State, to extend his tour into Vermont; and requesting the Governor to "direct such military and other arrangements for the reception of so beloved and deserving a guest as will comport with the occasion."

The members of the Vermont Legislature were almost unanimously in favor of John Quincy Adams for President, and the following Presidential Electors were chosen: Jonas Galusha of Shaftsbury, John Mason of Castleton, Titus Hutchinson of Woodstock, Dan Carpenter of Waterbury, Joseph Burr of Manchester, Asa Aldis of St. Albans and Jabez Proctor of Cavendish. The vote of the Vermont Electors was cast for John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun, all the New England States supporting this ticket. There were four candidates for President: John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky, William H. Crawford of Georgia and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. No candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, the division being, Jackson, 99; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; Clay, 37. The election, therefore, was thrown into the House of Representatives, a choice being made from the three candidates having the largest number of votes. Clay, being eliminated, threw his strength to Adams, who received the votes of thirteen States, and was declared elected. Jackson was supported by seven and Crawford by four States.

When the news of the election of John Quincy Adams as President of the United States was received at Burlington, there was general satisfaction over the choice of a New England statesman. National salutes were fired and a party of prominent citizens celebrated the event at a dinner held at Gould's Hotel. Among those in attendance were Governor Van Ness, District Attorney William A. Griswold and Chief Judge Timothy Follett of Chittenden County Court. Toasts were drunk

to the President-elect, Henry Clay, General Jackson and William H. Crawford, unsuccessful candidates for the Presidency; to the State of Vermont, the Governor of Vermont and the Governor of New York. Interest was added to the occasion by the rumor that Governor Van Ness might be invited to enter the new President's Cabinet. Long before the end of the Adams administration, however, the relations of President and Governor were destined to undergo a marked change.

Vermont and the Nation suffered a serious loss on October 15, 1824, in the death of Congressman Charles Rich, aged about fifty-three years, at his home in Shoreham, after a short illness. He was a strong supporter of the new tariff policy, and a leader in Congress. *Niles' Register* said of him: "A more upright and useful member than he was does not remain in the House of Representatives." At a special election, held in December, Henry Olin of Leicester was chosen to fill the vacancy in Congress caused by the death of Mr. Rich. He was born in Shaftsbury, May 7, 1768, being a son of Justice John H. Olin, and a nephew of Gideon Olin, one of the early Vermont leaders and a member of Congress from 1803 to 1807. He represented Leicester in the Legislature from 1799 to 1804, 1806 to 1815, 1817 to 1819, and 1822 to 1824, twenty-two terms in all. In 1820 and 1821 he was a member of the Executive Council. He was elected an Assistant Judge of Addison County Court, serving from 1801 to 1807 and 1808 to 1810. He was Chief Judge from 1807 to 1808, and 1820 to 1824. He was a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1814, 1822 and 1828. He served one term

in Congress and was Lieutenant Governor from 1827 to 1830. He was a man of large physique, genial temper and ready wit. He died August 13, 1837.

When Congress convened in December, 1824, Senator Palmer was assigned to the Committee on Claims and Senator Seymour to the Committees on Judiciary and Accounts. In the House, Mr. Mallary was given a place upon the important Committee on Manufactures and Mr. Bradley was assigned to the Library Committee. Early in the session Mr. Mallary called attention to the dismantled condition of "the navy" on Lake Champlain, urging the need of fitting out a warship for the protection of the lake. Only ten years had elapsed since the Battle of Plattsburg, and the possibility of war was still present in the minds of American citizens. Mr. Mallary offered a resolution, which was adopted, instructing the Ways and Means Committee to inquire into the expediency of making provision for the building of "a steam vessel of war" for the defence of Lake Champlain. Both Vermont Senators voted against the bill to authorize the necessary survey of roads and canals. They opposed striking from the tariff bill the duty on iron and the reduction of the duties on wool and woolen goods, but on the passage of the bill both voted in the affirmative.

The summer of 1824 was made memorable by the arrival from France of General Lafayette, after an absence of nearly fifty years. The whole Nation welcomed him with the utmost cordiality and affection. He arrived in New York on August 15, and during a period of about fourteen months he visited every State in the Union

and all the leading cities. Municipalities and commonwealths vied in paying honors to the "Nation's Guest." The spirit of the American people, their sturdy independence and their love for Washington's friend, were admirably voiced in Sprague's lines:

"We bow not the neck and we bend not the knee,
But our hearts, Lafayette, we surrender to thee."

He arrived at the national capital just before the opening of the Congressional session and remained in Washington most of the winter. Some of the most distinguished members of Congress, including Daniel Webster, were appointed on the committee to welcome the famous French visitor and on this committee Mr. Mallary of Vermont was appointed.

Governor Van Ness, in behalf of the people of Vermont, on December 24, 1824, formally invited General Lafayette to visit the State. The invitation was accepted in a courteous letter, in which the General said: "It has ever been my intention not to leave this side of the Atlantic before I have visited the State of Vermont, in the feelings of which (since) the first times of our Revolution, I have heartily sympathized, while its services to the common cause were by none better felt than by me, who may boast to have been early distinguished by the kindness of the citizens of Vermont."

Coming directly from Massachusetts, where Daniel Webster, on Bunker Hill, had delivered the noble speech which was to become a classic in American oratory, Lafayette and his party entered Vermont from New

Hampshire on the morning of June 28, 1825. No more beautiful season of the year could have been chosen than the closing days of June. The party consisted of General Lafayette; his son, George Washington Lafayette; his secretary, M. Le Vasseur; a committee representing the New Hampshire Legislature; Daniel Kellogg, Secretary of the Governor and Council of Vermont; and the Governor's staff, including General Mower and Colonels Cushman and Austin.

Entering Windsor over the Cornish bridge, the party was welcomed on behalf of the citizens of the village by Hon. Horace Everett, who introduced the distinguished visitor to the Governor of Vermont. In an eloquent address, Governor Van Ness welcomed Lafayette to the Green Mountain State. Referring to the presence of several veterans of the American Revolution, he said: "With their bodies enfeebled by the ravages of many a year, and their locks bleached by the sun of many a summer, their hearts, yet warm as the warmest, and tender as the tenderest, will be lighted up and animated with a blaze, kindled by a spark from the altar of '76, but whose blissful warmth none but they and you can be permitted fully to realize."

In his reply General Lafayette spoke in a manner which may have indicated that he had previously visited Vermont. If this was a fact it must have been in 1778, when plans were made for an invasion of Canada under Lafayette's command, for which Vermont was asked to furnish three hundred men. In his reply the guest of honor said: "From this State, Sir, by a gallant band of patriots, and their worthy leader and

prototype, was, for the first time proclaimed on the ramparts of a British fortress, the name of the Continental Congress. Nor ever did the vicinity of the enemy on the northern frontier, and family difficulties on every other side, one instant cool the ardour of the sons of Vermont to defend the cause of American independence and freedom. * * * I thank you for your sympathy, for the delight I feel to see the happy citizens of Vermont enjoying all the blessings of republican liberty, and among them to recognize many of my beloved companions in arms. Be pleased to accept in your own name and in behalf of the people and representatives of Vermont, the tribute of my respectful devotion and gratitude."

Weathersfield had begun a road to the summit of Mt. Ascutney in order that Lafayette might enjoy the noble view afforded, but change in his schedule brought him to Windsor by another route, and the road project was abandoned.

At Woodstock, the party was welcomed by Hon. Titus Hutchinson and to this greeting General Lafayette made a brief but appropriate reply. At Royalton, Hon. Jacob Collamer welcomed him "to the green hills and happy villages of Vermont," saying, "with sincere hearts would we wish to add to the gratulations of our cities our rustic salutations of welcome, and thus to express a nation's gratitude to its early benefactor." A fitting response was made. At East Randolph, Lafayette is said to have been welcomed by Rev. Wilbur Fisk.

Montpelier was reached about ten o'clock on the evening of June 28. The Washington artillery, the Mont-

pelier Light Infantry and the Berlin Infantry escorted the guests, and a company of Montpelier boys about fourteen years old, acted as a bodyguard. Greetings were extended by Hon. Elijah Paine, Judge of the United States District Court, who said in his speech of welcome to General Lafayette: "When you left this country after the War of the Revolution, the State of Vermont had just begun to have a name. At that time almost the whole State was a wilderness,—yet we are proud of some of the feats performed in that war by the arms of Vermont. We count upon ourselves as principals in the capture of a whole British army under Burgoyne, the consequences of which are too well known to you to need a rehearsal. The State of Vermont cannot show to you large towns and cities; but it can show to you what is, perhaps, of as much consequence—it can show to you a sober, substantial, intelligent and well informed yeomanry."

In his reply Lafayette said: "Well may I, Sir, acknowledge the patriotic titles of this State, not only as having been the theatre of a most important event, the victory of Bennington, and having largely contributed to the happy turns in the north—but also as having by her devotion to the general cause, and by the gallantry of her hardy sons constantly taken a great proportionate share in our Revolutionary struggle; nor shall I omit this opportunity to express my early interest in the local feelings and wishes of the State of Vermont."

On the morning of June 29 the women of Montpelier assembled in the Congregational Church, when Mrs.

Erastus Watrous extended a cordial welcome "to our country, our homes and our hearts." The General expressed his appreciation in a brief speech. The party then started for Burlington. It was met at Williston by a detachment of cavalry, and at the top of the College hill by a band, the Independent Greys, the court and civil authorities, the President and officers of the University, Revolutionary soldiers, college students and citizens. The arrival was announced by a salute of artillery, the ringing of bells and the "protracted cheers of an immense multitude."

Hon. William A. Griswold in an eloquent speech welcomed the distinguished visitor. In his reply Lafayette declared: "Among the Revolutionary soldiers, whom it is my delight to meet, I have the gratification, in the sons of the Green Mountains, to find many who have been my intimate companions." He alluded to "the spirited part" which Vermont soldiers had taken in the War of 1812, saying: "One of the theatres of the honorable achievements of that war, both on water and on land, we may almost greet from this place, on the opposite shore." General Lafayette rode in an open barouche, drawn by four handsome gray horses. A public dinner was given at Gould's Hotel, attended by about two hundred guests, at which Horace Loomis presided. Lafayette gave this toast: "The Town of Burlington—May the Holy Alliance of Agriculture, Manufacturing, Industry and Commerce, under the influence of her republican institutions and her fortunate situation, more and more ensure her prosperity and happiness." On being asked to give another toast, he pro-

posed the following: "The memory of Ethan Allen and his early companions, the old Green Mountain Boys."

All the Revolutionary soldiers who were able to attend, assembled in the large room of the tavern. Sergeant Day of Lafayette's regiment was present, bearing the sword given to him by his old commander, and the interview between the two men is said to have been very affecting. David Russell in behalf of the surviving officers and soldiers, extended a cordial welcome and Lafayette responded in a felicitous speech.

After dinner the General laid the corner stone of what is now the south portion of the Old College building of the University of Vermont, the first edifice having been destroyed by fire. President-elect Willard Preston welcomed him to a spot "consecrated to Science and Literature." In his response the General expressed his sense of the honor conferred upon him and said in substance that he was sure that the young sons of Vermont would ever evince in their studies the same ardor and perseverance which at all times and on every occasion had characterized the spirited inhabitants of the Green Mountains. He was then introduced to the faculty and students. Fifty-eight years later, a bronze statue of Lafayette, the work of J. Q. A. Ward, one of America's most distinguished sculptors, was unveiled on the University campus, being the gift of John P. Howard.

The closing feature of Vermont's hospitality was a notable reception given to General Lafayette and party and the State officers in the spacious mansion of Governor Van Ness, "in a style of magnificent hospitality suited to his liberal temper and ample means," according

to a description given in a biographical sketch of the Governor. The great house was brilliantly illuminated and the spacious grounds were "fancifully lighted up." Across the gate at the foot of the avenue a transparent arch had been erected, bearing the inscription, "Welcome Lafayette." At the close of this brilliant function, General Lafayette and his party left at eleven o'clock at night, embarked on the steamer *Phoenix* and proceeded to Whitehall, N. Y., after being saluted by the *Phoenix* and the *Congress*. The former ship displayed the American and French colors and the flags of most of the European nations. The latter craft was brilliantly illuminated and displayed in a transparency a full length portrait of General Washington.

One of the interesting incidents of Lafayette's visit to Vermont, which illustrates his generous sympathy for his comrades, as well as the oppressive laws of that period, was an interview which he had at Montpelier with Gen. Isaac Fletcher of Lyndon concerning a former associate, Gen. William Barton, formerly of Rhode Island, who had founded the Vermont town which bears his name. He had suffered financial reverses and for a long time had been confined in jail for debt. As a result of the information then given, early in September Lafayette wrote a letter from the *Brandywine*, a ship built to convey the distinguished guest to his home overseas, enclosing a draft for a sum sufficient to pay General Barton's debts. The prisoner thereupon was released and in December rejoined his family in Providence, R. I.

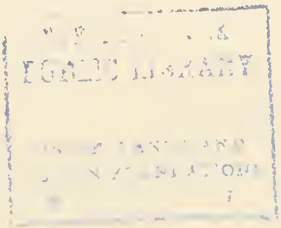
Governor Van Ness was reelected in 1825 and D. Azro A. Buck of Chelsea again was chosen Speaker. In his inaugural address Governor Van Ness expressed his satisfaction that the choice of President of the United States had fallen on such an eminent statesman as John Quincy Adams. Referring to the condition of Vermont, he alluded to the "abundant evidence of her increasing progress in wealth and population, and in the cultivation of the mind and the morals; of the improvement of her agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests; and of the prevalence of an unusual degree of harmony and good feeling throughout the whole community." He suggested the propriety of creating a permanent school fund. A reference was made to the visit of General Lafayette, and a subsequent report showed that the expense of the State, in connection therewith, was $564.77. The Governor alluded to various canal enterprises, particularly to those designed to connect Lake Memphremagog with the Connecticut River at Barnet, and Lakes Champlain and Memphremagog. He urged the importance of encouraging internal improvements, but advised that the State proceed with caution. He hoped that the fact that the State only bordered on the Connecticut River would not deprive the project of general interest, "as it should always be remembered that a benefit to one part of the State, without an actual deprivation to the other parts, is a benefit to the whole."

Following the opening of the Champlain Canal and the benefit to the Champlain valley which resulted, Montpelier business men began an investigation of canal possibilities in the Winooski valley. A canal convention

was held at the State House in Montpelier on June 30, 1825, which adopted resolutions in favor of a survey from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain. Delegates were in attendance from Caledonia, Chittenden, Orange and Washington counties. Araunah Waterman, John L. Woods and John Downer were appointed commissioners and they appointed Anthony M. Hoffman of Swanton as engineer. Having been notified that United States engineers would cooperate with Vermont engineers, Governor Van Ness appointed Horace Everett of Windsor and Nicholas Baylies of Montpelier, commissioners, and a sum for necessary expenses was raised by subscription. Surveys were made of possible routes from Lake Memphremagog to the Connecticut River, one terminating at Barnet and one at Brunswick. Before the close of the legislative session the Governor was authorized to appoint two canal commissioners and an appropriation was made for their expenses. Robert Pierpoint of Rutland and Samuel C. Crafts of Craftsbury were appointed.

A canal convention was held at Windsor, February 16, 1825, which advocated improvements on the Connecticut River. A later report, made by United States engineers, was to the effect that the supply of water was too uncertain to warrant large expenditures for a canal connecting Lake Champlain at Burlington with the Connecticut River by way of the Winooski and White River valleys. All these canal schemes were finally abandoned, except the removal of obstacles in the Connecticut River to permit steamboats to ascend the stream as far as the mouth of Wells River. During the period

Stephen A. Douglas, Born at Brandon, Vt.



of canal agitation surveys were made for Memphremagog, Passumpsic, Lamoille, Montpelier and Rutland Canals, and the Otter Creek, Castleton River and Battenkill Canal companies were formed.

Among the important acts of the legislative session of 1825 were the chartering of the Bank of Montpelier, the Bank of St. Albans, the Bank of Caledonia and the Ascutney Fire Insurance Company at Windsor. Juniper Island, in Lake Champlain, near Burlington, was granted to the United States Government for a lighthouse. The amount due the State from the Vermont State Bank was sequestered and granted to be used as a fund for the common schools.

Toward the close of the year 1825, *Niles' Register* announced that "the manufacture of iron and of wool, together with the raising of sheep, are doing great things for Vermont. * * * This mountain region is one of the most prosperous in the United States. The outlet to the sea by the New York canal is of immense importance to it." In August, 1826, this publication said: "The manufactures of the Green Mountains have risen almost to a level with those of Europe. The people of the State are now manufacturing wool and cotton to a very large amount; also iron, copperas, marble and other raw materials, with considerable profit." Like some other newspapers, with the best of intentions, the facts concerning Vermont industries probably were exaggerated, but most manufacturing enterprises of that day were small, when compared with business operations nearly a century later. There were one hundred manufacturing companies in the State and fifty turnpike com-

panies. Eight hundred tons of copperas had been manufactured at the Strafford mines. It was announced that navigation of Otter Creek from Lake Champlain to the falls at Vergennes could be effected in two or three hours, a great saving in time. This had been made possible by the construction of a road on the east bank of the stream, and horses were kept in readiness for towing vessels. At that time, a packet boat plied between Vergennes and the mouth of Otter Creek. A steam ferry operated between Burlington and Port Kent, N. Y., making two round trips daily. Boston stages by way of Windsor and Montpelier, and Rutland and Middlebury arrived at Burlington three times a week, while a stage from the northeastern part of the State made weekly trips to the same place.

The fiftieth anniversary of national independence was suitably observed on July 4, 1826, in the principal towns of the State.

In Congress, Vermont Senators, at the opening of the regular session in December, 1825, were assigned to committees as follows: Seymour—Naval Affairs, Chairman Contingent Expenses of the Senate; Chase—Claims, Pensions, Roads and Canals. In the House the Vermont members were assigned to the following committees: Mallary, Chairman Manufactures; Bradley, Chairman Weights and Measures, Expenditures Library of Congress; Meech, Agriculture; Wales, Public Expenditures; Mattocks, Chairman Expenditures in War Department.

In July, 1826, Mr. Bradley announced in the *Bellows Falls Intelligencer* that he would not be a candidate for

reelection. During his last term in the House his relations with President Adams had become strained, owing to what he considered a breach of faith on the part of the Executive. He transferred his allegiance to General Jackson and until near the close of his life was a member of the Democratic party.

In the fall elections, Ezra Butler of Waterbury, a Baptist clergyman, who had served a term in Congress, and a follower of Jefferson in political faith, was elected Governor, receiving 8,966 votes, while Joel Doolittle of Middlebury, a graduate of Yale and the first tutor in Middlebury College, received 3,157 votes. The scattering ballots numbered 2,037. Congressmen Mallary, Buck and Wales were reelected. Mr. Meech of Shelburne having declined another term, there was no choice at the regular election, but on a third trial Benjamin Swift of St. Albans was elected over his nearest rival, Heman Allen of Milton, by a majority of 120 votes. Mr. Swift was born in Amenia, N. Y., April 9, 1780. He studied in the Litchfield, Conn., law school and removed to Bennington, where he began the practice of law. Later, he removed to Manchester, and in 1809 to St. Albans, where, for seventeen years he was a partner of Hon. John Smith. He represented St. Albans in the Legislature in 1813 and again in 1825 and 1826. He served two terms in Congress, was United States Senator from 1833 to 1839, and was a Whig Presidential Elector in 1844. He was a man of large stature and was strong physically, mentally and morally. He died in St. Albans, November 11, 1847.

A third election was required in the First District to elect a successor to William C. Bradley, when Jonathan Hunt of Brattleboro was chosen over O. C. Merrill. He was born in Vernon, August 12, 1780, being the son of Lieut. Gov. Jonathan Hunt. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1807, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. He was elected the first president of the Brattleboro Bank in 1821 and held that position during the remainder of his life. He represented Brattleboro in the Legislature in 1816-17 and in 1824. He served in Congress until his death in Washington, May 14, 1832. Two sons became men of international reputation, William Morris Hunt, the artist, and Richard M. Hunt, the architect.

D. Azro A. Buck of Chelsea was elected Speaker of the Vermont House of Representatives in 1826, but resigned before the end of the session and Robert B. Bates of Middlebury was chosen his successor. In his inaugural address, Governor Butler opposed amending the State Constitution. He urged that the law providing imprisonment for debt be amended, so that commitments would be fewer. He opposed the raising of money by lotteries, and alluded to the offer made by a New York firm the previous seasons to pay at the rate of four thousand dollars a year for ten years for the exclusive privilege of selling lottery tickets in the State.

The most exciting event of the session was the election of a United States Senator, and the campaign was one of the most hotly contested in the history of Vermont politics. Governor Van Ness was the choice of the Council, but the vote of the Assembly was sufficiently

large to reelect Senator Seymour on joint ballot by a majority of seven, in a total vote of two hundred and twenty-five. Van Ness was charged with official misconduct, moral profligacy and wavering support of the national administration. His private life and public conduct appear to have been beyond reproach, but it is difficult at this late date to estimate his loyalty to President Adams. It was charged by his friends that William Slade of Vermont, then a clerk in the office of the State Department at Washington, came back to this State, ostensibly on public business, and took occasion to urge the reelection of Seymour. It was further asserted that John Bailey, a Massachusetts Member of Congress, and an intimate personal friend of President Adams, urged the importance of reelecting Senator Seymour, charging Governor Van Ness with hostility to the administration. These charges were denied, and a warfare of letters followed; the newspapers for weeks thereafter being filled with long political statements. Mr. Van Ness published a letter on March 15, 1827, occupying more than four columns of the *Burlington Sentinel.* In it he declared that he had supported Adams for election in 1824, and that he had said if elected Senator he would resign the office if he found that he could not support the President. In his opinion the administration had interfered in the Senatorial election in an "unjust and unwarrantable" manner. He therefore transferred his political allegiance, like W. C. Bradley, to General Jackson, saying: "He has not, like Mr. Adams, been brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, nor

lived the greater part of his time at the courts of Kings and Princes."

Senator Seymour was a man of respectable but not extraordinary talents. Governor Van Ness, on the contrary, was a brilliant and polished man of the world. It may be that these very qualities prejudiced some of the legislators from the small towns against him. Later he received a diplomatic appointment from President Jackson, and thereafter he spent most of his life outside Vermont.

The legislation of the session included an act directing the Judges of the Supreme Court to adopt a uniform system of rules for the admission to the bar of attorneys at law. A license fee of five hundred dollars was fixed for vendors of lottery tickets. Jurisdiction over ten acres of land at Vergennes was granted to the United States for an arsenal. Acts of incorporation were granted for the Bank of Vergennes, the Swanton Canal Company (for a canal from Maquam Bay to Keyes Falls, in Highgate), the St. Albans Steamboat Company, the Champlain Transportation Company, the Vermont Agricultural Society, the Bennington Iron Company, the Pittsford Iron Manufacturing Company, the Sand Bar Bridge Company and the Vermont Salt Manufacturing Company. A meeting had been held at South Hero in February, 1826, attended by residents of Grand Isle and Chittenden counties, and resolutions had been adopted declaring that the construction of a bridge on the sand bar extending from Milton to South Hero, the southern town of Grand Isle county, was feasible. The incorporators of the Vermont Salt Company were induced to

bore for salt at Montpelier because of conditions supposed to be similar to those in western New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio where salt had been found. Work was begun in August, 1827, and continued until January, 1830, the boring being mostly through solid rock. A depth of eight hundred and fifty feet was reached, but no traces of salt were discovered and the search was abandoned.

The proposal of Tennessee to divide the States into districts for the choice of Presidential Electors, corresponding to the number of Senators and Representatives each State had in Congress, was disapproved. A resolution instructing the Vermont delegation in Congress to favor the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was reported adversely and rejected. The report of the State Treasurer for the year ending September 30, 1826, showed the expenses of government to have been $52,039.46. The convicts at the State Prison wove forty-nine thousand yards of cloth during the year.

The snowfall of the first two weeks of January, 1827, is said to have been the heaviest known since the settlement of the country. Little snow had fallen during December, but during the first two or three days of January, an average fall of thirty inches was recorded. During the remainder of the week, four or five inches more fell and in the second week of January there was a fall of fourteen inches, making a total of more than four feet of snow during a fortnight.

Early in 1827, Col. J. P. Miller returned to his home in Randolph from Greece, where he had participated in

the attempt to free that ancient land from Turkish rule. He had been a student in the University of Vermont, but left when the College buildings were burned in 1824. With letters from Governor Van Ness he applied to Edward Everett and other officials of the Greek Association, who aided him in securing passage to Europe. He entered the Greek service and in time became a Colonel and a staff officer under Gen. George Jarvis. Owing to his bravery he was known among the Greeks as the American dare devil. He participated in the twelve-months' siege of Messalonghi and in various engagements. After his return to America he studied law and entered upon the practice of his profession at Montpelier. He was active in his opposition to slavery and was one of the two Vermont delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840. He died February 17, 1847.

At the opening of Congress in December, 1826, the Vermont Senators were given new committee assignments, Chase going to Finance and Seymour to Judiciary. The assignments of Vermont members of the House remained practically the same as at the previous session. The tariff act of 1824 had not proved to be altogether satisfactory to the friends of the so-called "American System." Heavy importations of woolen goods were made possible by undervaluations, and manufacturers of woolens in New England and elsewhere petitioned Congress for relief. On January 10, 1827, Mr. Mallary of Vermont, for the Committee on Manufactures, reported a bill, increasing duties on wool and

woolens and changing the basis of custom house valuations.

One week later, on January 17, he supported the measure in an able and convincing speech. As reported in *Niles' Register* it occupied more than five pages. After referring to memorials received from agricultural as well as industrial interests, he estimated the capital invested in woolen manufactures at a sum not less than forty million dollars, and in Massachusetts alone the investment was at least eight million dollars. The number of sheep in the United States was said to be between fifteen million and sixteen million head. He believed that these flocks had been increased by ten million head as a result of the establishment of manufacturing institutions. He called attention to the heavy purchases made by the industrial districts of New England from other parts of the country, including an annual consumption of 213,000 barrels of Virginia flour, valued at more than $1,000,000. Calling attention to the increase in imports, he said: "The great capital now devoted to the woolen manufacture is in jeopardy. The great agricultural interest, depending on the other, claims also the interposition of our common government. It stands on the brink of ruin. The manufacturer is pressed by the overwhelming power of foreign rivalry and gives way. The agricultural interest is doomed to a common fate." He then pointed out how American manufactures were being driven out of the home markets by the great increase of imports from Great Britain. The speech was a strong and logical presentation of the doctrine of protection. A motion by Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania

to recommit the bill failed by a vote of 101 to 104, and it was ordered to a third reading by a vote of 108 to 99. In the Senate, the vote on the tariff bill was a tie and it was tabled by the casting vote of Vice President John C. Calhoun.

A convention of manufacturers and wool growers, interested in a protective tariff policy, was held at Rutland on June 27, 1827. Judge Elijah Paine of Williamstown presided. Eight counties were represented by approximately one hundred delegates. Addresses were made by Congressman R. C. Mallary and former Consul William Jarvis of Weathersfield. William Jarvis, Rollin C. Mallary, Elijah Paine, William Hull and Heman Allen were elected delegates to a national convention, called at Harrisburg, Pa., to consider the need of more adequate tariff protection. In commenting on the Vermont meeting, *Niles' Register* said: "The people of this mountain State are firm supporters of domestic manufactures and have profited much by their industry applied to improve their natural advantages. They raise very many sheep, manufacture much cloth, iron, copperas, etc."

The national convention assembled in the Capitol at Harrisburg, Pa., July 30, 1827. The States represented included New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio. Among the delegates were Ezekiel Webster of New Hampshire, Abbott Lawrence of Massachusetts, Matthew Carey of Pennsylvania and Thomas Ewing of Ohio. Mr. Mallary was chairman of a committee on

Commercial Intercourse between the States. Judge Paine served on a committee appointed to prepare an address to the people and Mr. Allen was a member of a committee to consider the subjects of iron and glass. Mr. Mallary and Mr. Jarvis were among the leaders of this convention. The latter was originally appointed a member of a committee to petition Congress but withdrew in favor of Matthew Carey. Both men had prepared petitions, and parts of each document were used. Mr. Jarvis formed the acquaintance of Henry Clay and Abbott Lawrence in his work in behalf of a protective tariff, and this Massachusetts captain of industry afterward said that Mr. Jarvis converted him to the cause of American manufactures. Resolutions in favor of a greater measure of protection were adopted and a memorial was sent to Congress.

Mr. Allen, the American Minister to Chili, took formal leave of the Chilian authorities on July 31, 1827. In his address to the Vice President he said his mission had been terminated at his own request, and he expressed gratification that some progress had been made toward a settlement of claims. He arrived in New York on January 27, 1828, after a voyage of one hundred and twenty-five days from Chili.

During the summer of 1827, United States engineers made canal surveys in Vermont. Accompanied by the Governor, they visited the height of land at Williamstown. Among the possible routes considered were one by way of Northfield and the White River, and one by way of the Wells River valley to the Connecticut River;

also one from Lake Memphremagog by way of the Lamoille River valley to Lake Champlain.

Governor Butler had little opposition in the election of 1827, receiving 13,699 votes, 1,951 being cast for Joel Doolittle of Middlebury. Robert B. Bates of Middlebury was reelected Speaker. In his inaugural address Governor Butler proposed a board of examination for teachers in public schools, opposed the operation of lotteries, and expressed regret that Congress had failed to grant needed protection to American industries. He objected strongly to the proposal made to limit a President of the United States to one term of office.

The Legislature enacted a school law, dividing the towns into districts. Committees of three, five or seven persons were authorized to have general charge and superintendence of schools, examine candidates for teaching positions, visit schools and designate text books, but provision was made that no books should be purchased or used "which are calculated to favor any particular religious sect or tenet." A prudential committee of one person or three persons was designated to hire teachers and have charge of school buildings. Districts were authorized to raise money for building or repairing school houses and supporting schools. Selectmen were directed to assess a tax of three cents on the dollar of the grand list to be apportioned among the several districts according to attendance. The Legislature declined to act on resolutions from Maine and Connecticut relative to the use of United States revenue for internal improvements, declaring it inexpedient at that time to express an opinion on the subject. Similar action was

taken in regard to resolutions from Georgia and Ohio dealing with the election of President by the House of Representatives. Vermont Senators and Representatives in Congress were requested to use their influence to secure the passage of laws to aid the work of the American Colonization Society in colonizing the west coast of Africa with free people of color. Senators were instructed and Representatives requested to exert their best endeavors to procure the passage of a law "which shall afford such protection to the American wool grower and manufacturer as shall enable them to compete with the foreign wool grower and manufacturer in our own markets."

By a vote of 165 to 35 the General Assembly adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this House the policy adopted by the present administration of the General Government is well calculated to promote the permanent prosperity of the Nation, and is approved by the people of Vermont; and that the reelection of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency of the United States is an object highly desirable." The Governor and Council concurred in the adoption of the foregoing resolution. Four members of the Council dissented and their objections were made a part of the records of that body.

About the time of the adjournment of the Legislature, Governor Butler announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection, intending to devote the remainder of his life to his pastoral duties.

At the opening of Congress in December, 1827, Senator Seymour was assigned to the Committee on Naval

Affairs and to the second place on Judiciary. In the House, places were assigned as follows: Mallary, Manufactures (Chairman); Hunt, Revolutionary Claims; Buck, Public Expenditures; Wales, Sale of Washington City Lots; Swift, Expenditures on Public Buildings and Apportionment of Representatives under the Census. Although Mr. Mallary was retained as chairman of the important Committee on Manufactures, he was not entirely in sympathy with a majority of the committee. His retention under such circumstances was a high compliment to his usefulness and ability. The tariff bill as reported increased the duties on wool and hemp, but did not give the protection on woolen goods that Mr. Mallary thought was needed, but amendments which he proposed to remedy this defect were rejected. In a speech of two hours he explained the bill and the differences between himself and other members of the committee. In supporting his amendments he declared that "an immense capital is unemployed and a great mass of machinery idle, which has been devoted to manufactures." He asserted that efforts were being made to inundate our markets with foreign fabrics, and that European manufacturers were combining to discourage industry in this country. Some of Mr. Mallary's amendments were adopted with modifications and the bill was finally passed, April 22, by a vote of 105 to 94.

This act was bitterly opposed by the South and was called by its opponents the "Tariff of Abominations." South Carolina's nullification episode grew out of opposition to this act.

A public dinner was given to Mr. Mallary at Newark, N. J., on May 30, 1828. Governor Williamson and other distinguished guests were present and about one hundred persons were in attendance. Mr. Mallary was toasted and in turn offered a toast to Newark. *Niles' Register* said of the dinner: "Mr. Mallary well deserved a compliment like this, and it was happily given at Newark. The devotion of Mr. Mallary to the American System, the honest zeal with which he advocated the protection of American industry, his rigid adherence to principle, and earnestness for the success of measures, while claiming the warm approbation of the friends of the system, have secured for him an uncommon degree of respect from its opponents." A little later Mr. Mallary was entertained at a luncheon at Troy, N. Y., attended by the Mayor and about one hundred guests. Mr. Mallary was toasted, and, in turn, offered a toast to the prosperity of Troy and the success of the American System.

According to reports of listers made early in the year 1828, there were 31,936 taxable polls in the State and 7,072 militia polls exempt from taxation. There were 35,986 homes, also 147 attorneys and 206 physicians. The live stock reports included 130,871 cows and other cattle three years old; 50,835 cattle two years old; 41,755 oxen; 51,394 horses and mules one year old and over; and 702,469 sheep. On April 1, 1828, Vermont banks had in circulation $949,844, or less by about $240,000 than the amount fixed by law. Most of these institutions had funds on deposit in Boston and Troy banks, only one depositing in a New York bank.

On the anniversary of Bennington Battle Day in Bennington, only two veterans of that memorable contest were present, the venerable Ex-Gov. Jonas Galusha, who presided, and Gen. David Robinson.

Samuel C. Crafts of Craftsbury was elected Governor in 1828, receiving 16,285 votes. The opposition was slight, Joel Doolittle of Middlebury receiving 916 votes. Among the members of the Council elected was Ira H. Allen of Irasburg, son of Gen. Ira Allen. Robert B. Bates of Middlebury was elected for a third term as Speaker. In his inaugural address Governor Crafts protested against the bitterness of political strife. He did not make many recommendations regarding State policies, but suggested that there were inequalities in the school law, which should be remedied. The acts of this session of the Legislature included a modification of the law relating to the judiciary, providing that the Supreme Court should consist of a Chief Justice and four Assistant Justices; the incorporation of the village of Montpelier; and the cession to the United States of eighteen acres of land at Vergennes for an arsenal. Members of the Vermont Congressional delegation were asked to use their influence in securing the passage of a pension act for the benefit of Revolutionary officers and soldiers.

Mr. Mallary was reelected to Congress without opposition. Benjamin Swift was opposed by Ezra Meech, the Jackson candidate, but won over his opponent by a vote of nearly two to one. Jonathan Hunt was reelected. There were four candidates in the district represented by Mr. Wales and no candidate received a majority. In the district represented by Mr. Buck,

there was no choice, the vote being Buck, 1,779; Cahoon (Anti-Masonic), 1,427; Cushman (Jackson), 1,303; Bell, 564. Messrs. Buck and Bell were Adams candidates. This was the first election in which the Anti-Masonic party figured. In the spring of 1826 one William Morgan of Batavia, N. Y., who had written a book purporting to reveal the secrets of Free Masonry, was seized and spirited away, and his fate remained a mystery. It was charged that he had been murdered. Great excitement followed. Thurlow Weed came into Vermont twice to summon witnesses in connection with the Morgan case. In the spring elections in western New York the antagonism to the Masonic order began to take form. This agitation spread to New England, and Vermont seems to have been a fertile field for the cultivation of a spirit of opposition to secret societies. This agitation was particularly active in northeastern Vermont, where a Danville editor became one of the leaders of the new movement. With the exception of the Congressional district mentioned, the Anti-Masonic sentiment had not grown to proportions in Vermont sufficient to affect the political campaign of 1828. The sentiment in the State was strongly in favor of a second term for President Adams, but the formation of a party following the leadership of Gen. Andrew Jackson, to be known a little later as the Democratic party, was under way. The anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1828, was celebrated by a dinner at Burlington. Ex-Governor Van Ness was president of the day, and the vice president was Ex-Gov. Martin Chittenden, formerly an extreme Federalist. The opinion that the

Whig party was the residuary political legatee of the Federalist party is an error, at least so far as Vermont is concerned. The Jackson or Democratic party was composed in about equal numbers of recruits from the Jeffersonian Republicans and the Federalists.

In June, 1828, the Vermont newspapers supporting the Adams administration were: The *Bellows Falls Intelligencer, Brattleboro Messenger, Burlington Free Press, Castleton Statesman, Chester Freedom's Banner, Middlebury American, Montpelier Watchman, Poultney Spectator, Royalton Advocate, Rutland Herald, St. Albans Repository, Vergennes Aurora, Windsor Republican, Windsor Journal* and *Woodstock Observer.* The Jackson newspapers were: The *Burlington Sentinel, Middlebury Standard* and *Montpelier Patriot.* The *Danville North Star* was an Anti-Masonic sheet and the *Bennington Gazette* was non-committal.

Vermont's Presidential Electors supported John Quincy Adams for President and Richard Rush for Vice President. The Electors were Jonas Galusha of Shaftsbury, Asa Aldis of St. Albans, Ezra Butler of Waterbury, Josiah Dana of Chelsea, John Phelps of Guilford, William Jarvis of Weathersfield, and Apollos Austin of Orwell.

In 1827 the following Council of Censors was elected: Asa Aikens of Windsor, William A. Griswold of Danville, Daniel Kellogg of Rockingham, John W. Dana of Cabot, Jedediah H. Harris of Strafford, Obadiah H. Noble, Jr., of Tinmouth, William Gates of Lunenburg, William Howe of Derby, Bates Turner of St. Albans, Samuel S. Phelps of Middlebury, Leonard

Sargent of Manchester, Joel Allen of North Hero and Ezekiel P. Walton of Montpelier. The seventh Council of Censors met at Montpelier, June 6-8, 1827, and October 15-26; and again, at Burlington, November 26-30, 1827. Three amendments were proposed, and a Constitutional Convention was called. For the fourth time a State Senate was proposed, this time of twenty-eight members. It was suggested that the privilege of citizenship should be denied to foreigners until they became naturalized citizens of the United States, and it was proposed to give the Governor a qualified veto power. The Convention met at Montpelier, June 26, 1828. The first and second proposals of amendment were rejected by a vote of 47 to 182, and the third was adopted by a vote of 134 to 92. Adjournment was taken on June 28.

Soon after the Jackson administration came into power the policy that "to the victors belong the spoils" was put into force with vigor. One of the early victims of the spoils system was a Vermonter, William Slade, who had held a clerkship in the office of the Secretary of State since the Monroe administration. *Niles' Register* devoted several pages to the correspondence between Secretary of State Martin Van Buren and Mr. Slade regarding the removal of the latter from office. Most of the letter writing was done by Mr. Slade, who attacked forcefully the policy of political decapitation inaugurated by the President and his Cabinet.

It was not until November, 1829, in the eighth election held, that the fifth district of Vermont succeeded in choosing a Congressman. In several elections Samuel

Prentiss of Montpelier was a candidate. William Cahoon, a member of the new Anti-Masonic party, was finally elected over James Bell by 1,064 majority. Mr. Cahoon was born in Providence, R. I., January 12, 1774, and came to Lyndon at an early age. He represented his town in the Legislature in 1802, 1805, 1808-09, 1811-12 and 1825-26. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Conventions of 1814 and 1828, a Presidential Elector in 1808, Judge of Caledonia County Court from 1811 to 1819, a member of the Executive Council from 1815 to 1820 and Lieutenant Governor from 1820 to 1822. He served two terms in Congress, and died May 30, 1833. The other vacancy in the Vermont Congressional delegation was filled by the election of Horace Everett of Windsor. He was born in Foxboro, Mass., July 17, 1779, and graduated from Brown University in 1797. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, and opened an office in Windsor. He was State's Attorney for Windsor county from 1813 to 1817. He represented Windsor in the Legislature in 1819-20, 1822-24, and in 1843. He was also a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1828. He served seven consecutive terms in Congress and died January 30, 1851.

During the year 1829, Ex-Governor Van Ness was appointed by President Jackson United States Minister to Spain, and on November 10 arrived at Cadiz after a voyage of twenty days from New York.

Before the opening of the Champlain Canal it is said that about forty vessels were employed on Lake Champlain, most of the commerce being with Canada. In 1829, approximately two hundred and forty were in use,

including steamboats, and trade had been almost entirely diverted from Montreal to New York. On October 5, 1829, a steamboat called the *Vermont* ascended the Connecticut River as far as Windsor, where its arrival was celebrated by the ringing of bells, an artillery salute and a public dinner to Captain Blanchard.

Governor Crafts was reelected in 1829, receiving 14,325 votes. Heman Allen received 7,376 votes as an Anti-Masonic candidate, although he had declined to identify himself with that party. Joel Doolittle, the Jackson candidate, received 3,973 votes and 50 scattering ballots were cast. D. Azro A. Buck of Chelsea was elected Speaker. In his inaugural address Governor Crafts called attention to the evil of intemperance and recommended that the license laws be made more stringent. Attention was called to canal surveys made during the year. The Legislature asked the Vermont delegation in Congress to use its influence to secure the passage of an act authorizing the construction of fortifications on the north point of Isle La Motte and on "the great shoals between said point and Point au Fer." The legislators did not agree with Missouri that the election of President by direct vote of the people was a method more desirable than the choice by Electors. There was emphatic dissent from the views expressed by the States of Georgia, South Carolina and Missouri that the existing tariff laws were inexpedient and unconstitutional. The report adopted declared that "Your committee have yet to learn, and this by fair experiment, that the tariff laws now in force, and so zealously opposed by the anti-tariff States, will prove injurious to

our Southern brethren. We do confidently anticipate a different result. It is believed that the alarming apprehensions entertained by them are in a great degree imaginary, and will vanish in the progress of a reasonable practical trial." The Legislature also refused to concur in resolutions denying to Congress the constitutional right to regulate the tariff and make appropriations for internal improvements.

The Legislature abolished all military training, but provided for a yearly inspection of arms. At the opening of Congress in December, 1829, Senator Seymour was made a member of the Committees on Manufactures, Agriculture and Post-Offices and Post-Roads. Senator Chase was assigned to Claims and Pensions. Vermont Congressmen were given the following assignments: Mallary, Chairman of Manufactures; Hunt, Public Lands; Swift, Public Buildings; Cahoon, Militia; Everett, Census. On December 17, 1829, Mr. Hunt of Vermont introduced a resolution, directing the Committee on Public Lands to inquire into the expediency of appropriating the net annual proceeds from the sales of public lands among the several States for purposes of education and internal improvement in proportion to their representation in the House. It was amended by including the Territories in its provisions. After much discussion extending over a period of several days, the resolution was adopted, after the provision relating to internal improvements had been stricken out, the amendment being agreed to by the slender majority of two votes.

That portion of President Jackson's annual message relating to domestic manufactures, in which he recommended some tariff changes, having been referred to the committee of which Mr. Mallary was chairman, the Vermont Congressman, on the last day of the year (1829) reported that the committee considered any change in the tariff law inexpedient at that time. Earlier in the year, in a speech in the House, he had insisted "that the tariff policy was the settled policy of this country, and that no administration could stand who (which) should dare to touch it."

Mr. Mallary also introduced a bill to prevent evasions of the tariff laws, asserting that by means of false invoices a great quantity of British goods had come into the United States without the payment of the duties fixed by law, greatly to the detriment of American business. He alluded to the apprehension entertained that the protective policy would be abandoned, a fear which had hindered industrial development. *Niles' Register* said that Mr. Mallary's report on manufactures "has drawn down upon him the anamadversions of the English editors." On April 15, 1830, Mr. Mallary explained his bill providing for a more effective enforcement of the revenue laws in a speech two hours in length. *Niles' Register* said of it: "If the facts stated do not convince the public of the necessity of strong and prompt action on this subject we know not what sort of testimony should be offered to make them believe the injuries sustained. The speech exhibits as with a pencil of light the greatest accumulation of abominable frauds that we

ever met with. Mr. Mallary deserves the thanks of his country for this masterly exposition."

Mr. Cambreleng of New York, a leading supporter of the Jackson administration in the House, on April 30, introduced a bill from the Committee on Commerce, authorizing the President, under certain conditions to inaugurate a reciprocal tariff policy. When he received satisfactory information that any foreign government had authorized the introduction of agricultural products and manufactures of the United States, at a rate not to exceed 30 per cent of the value of such articles, then, by proclamation, he might admit similar products and manufactures of such nations on reciprocal terms. Mr. Mallary seems to have been the chief defender of the protective tariff policy, and he opposed the Cambreleng bill with eloquence and sarcasm. He said: "It is a measure that is intended to give the power to the President to control the great interests of this country. Let this remain with the representatives of the people. Let Congress keep this power to itself. Hold it fast. No such power should be put into the hands of any one man living. The object manifestly is to have the measure hang over our protective policy *in terrorem* like a portentous cloud."

Referring to Southern opposition to the tariff law, Mr. Mallary said in words that were a scathing indictment of the policy that threatened disunion: "The gentleman tells us about a tremendous explosion if the friends of the tariff policy persist. Sir, this means in plain English, rebellion. Sir, are we to be driven from our path of duty, from the true interests of the country, by threats

of a tremendous explosion? Is a minority on the floor of this House to tell a majority, you shall submit to our will, or the most dreadful consequences will follow? For one, I say, plump and plain, I will not be driven from my course by such language. How are we to decide on any great question, whether it relates to the established policy of the country, or to any new measure presented for deliberation and action? Is a majority to shrink back, give way, surrender, when a minority demands a right to rule? Submit to the tyranny of a minority, a strange despot under a government, when its fundamental is that a majority shall govern! This is the essence of aristocracy. In plain truth, sir, if Representatives cannot come here and exercise their own independent opinions, without being awed and menaced into submission by those who may happen to differ, the government is not worth preserving; its republican character is gone." These were words that needed to be spoken. Only a few weeks had passed since the great debate between Webster and Hayne. Events were moving steadily toward attempted dismemberment of the Union in South Carolina. Utterances like those of Mr. Mallary, coming as they did, from one of the leaders of the House, gave notice that threats of disunion would not frighten the friends of the tariff from support of the law then on the statute books of the Nation.

By a large majority the Cambreleng bill was laid on the table, and Mr. Mallary's bill for a more effective collection of duties was passed by a vote of 115 to 24. On July 6, 1830, a dinner was given to Mr. Mallary at Rutland, attended by about one hundred citizens, most of

whom were residents of his district. *Niles' Register* gave almost three pages to this event. In his speech Mr. Mallary said that few Representatives were less embarrassed in their public service than those from Vermont. In obedience to the wishes of the people of the State they had supported the navy, navigation, fortifications and internal improvements. He reviewed the tariff measures of 1816, 1824, 1827 and the general revision of 1828, calling attention to the dire predictions made by opponents of the latest revision. He referred to the hostility of the South and to South Carolina's threat to secede. He advocated internal improvements and condemned the Jackson administration for its system of political rewards and punishments, with its idea of conquest, the minority being treated like prisoners of war, in his opinion.

Late in 1829 and early in 1830 projects for building railroads in Vermont began to be considered, including one from Boston to Brattleboro, and another from Boston to Ogdensburg, N. Y., by way of Lowell, Mass., Concord, N. H., and Burlington. The people of Windsor appointed a committee to ascertain the feasibility of a railroad from that village to Whitehall, N. Y., by way of Rutland. A meeting was held at Montpelier, on January 15, 1830, to consider a proposed railroad from Boston to Lake Champlain. A Vermont Railroad Association was formed at Montpelier on February 17, 1830, and Timothy Hubbard was elected president. On October 6, of the same year, a railroad convention was held at the State House to consider the proposed Boston-Ogdensburg route. Five delegates were present from

Boston, ten from New Hampshire, seven from Northern New York and twenty-six from Vermont, the towns in the State represented being Barre, Berlin, Bradford, Burlington, Chelsea, Hartford, Middlesex, Montpelier, Northfield, Randolph, Richmond, Royalton, Topsham, Walden and Waterbury. The meeting was called to order by D. Azro A. Buck of Chelsea, and Luther Bradish of Moira, N. Y., was elected president. Committees were appointed to ask the Government to make a survey, to complete statistics concerning travel over the route, and to publish an address to the people.

During the summer of 1830 the State was visited by one of the most severe freshets ever known in New England. After a week of extreme heat, a heavy rain began on the evening of Saturday, July 24. On Monday, July 26, the streams began to rise rapidly and continued to rise until Tuesday morning, when they were three or four inches higher than "the great freshet of 1828," to quote the words of the *Montpelier Watchman*. Most of the dams on the Mad River, and many houses and barns along its banks were destroyed and not a bridge was left on the stream. At Middlesex, on the Winooski River, a woolen factory, a school house and several mills were swept away. Of the sixteen buildings at Moretown only six were left standing. Most of the bridges in the vicinity of Waterbury were swept away. All the bridges on the Dog River, at Berlin, went out. From Northfield came a similar report. A resident of Calais was drowned at Montpelier. A young man lost his life while trying to cross the Dog River at Berlin on a raft. A Moretown woman was swept

from her husband's arms and drowned. The damage to the Montpelier-Burlington turnpike was estimated at ten thousand dollars. From Bolton to Lake Champlain the Winooski valley was a scene of desolation. Intervale farms, with abundant crops, some of them ready for harvest, "suddenly became one vast and extended waste of waters, with fences, barns, mills, bridges and crops mingling in one common mass of ruins," according to the report of the *Montpelier Watchman.* At West Randolph two houses, a grain mill, and two factories, containing cloth, wool and machinery, valued at seventy thousand dollars, were swept away. A factory and mills were destroyed at Bethel, and a young man was drowned at Royalton.

The *Burlington Free Press* reported damage at that village amounting to ten thousand dollars. At Winooski Falls, bridges, an oil mill, and a woolen factory were destroyed, while at Essex a carding mill and clothing works were carried away. The Lamoille and Missisquoi Rivers were very high, and at Milton a trip hammer shop and a fulling mill were wrecked. The *Middlebury American* reported that most of the bridges between Vergennes and Middlebury were washed away and in places the tops of fields of grain were just visible above the surface of the expanse of water. At Lincoln, a woman and three children were awakened to find their bed floating near the ceiling of the room. Above was a loft with a floor of loose boards. The woman succeeded in removing some of these boards, and with her children found safety in this loft, where they remained until they were rescued on the following day. At New Haven

West Mills the stream was dammed and carried away about twenty buildings, leaving nothing but bare rocks. At New Haven East Mills a woolen factory and mills were destroyed. In one house that was surrounded by water the father of the family was able to erect a rude platform in a nearby tree and removed his eight children to this refuge, binding them to the tree with ropes. All the crops along the Middlebury River were destroyed and lives were lost. The damage to private property in Addison county was estimated at a sum between fifty and sixty thousand dollars. Some mills and factories were carried away in Caledonia county. A letter from Plattsburg, N. Y., said: "There never was so great a freshet known on this (Saranac) river since the memory of man. There is not a bridge left standing. The lake (Champlain) is full of logs, bridges, mills and pieces of mills." It was reported that Lake Champlain rose a foot in ten hours. Making allowance for possible exaggerations, there is no doubt that the freshet was exceedingly severe and the losses were very great.

The census of 1830 showed a population of 280,652 in Vermont, a gain of 44,671 during the decade, or 18.9 per cent. This was a substantial increase over the preceding period, from 1810 to 1820, when the gain was only 8.3 per cent. The population by counties was as follows:

Addison	24,940
Bennington	17,468
Caledonia	20,967
Chittenden	21,765
Essex	3,981

Franklin	24,525
Grand Isle	3,696
Orange	27,285
Orleans	13,980
Rutland	31,294
Washington	21,378
Windham	28,746
Windsor	40,625

The most populous town in the State was Middlebury, with 3,468 inhabitants. Other towns with a population exceeding 2,000 were: Bennington, 3,419; Burlington, 3,226; Windsor, 3,134; Woodstock, 3,044; Montpelier, 2,985; Rutland, 2,753; Springfield, 2,749; Randolph, 2,743; Danville, 2,631; Hartland, 2,503; St. Albans, 2,395; Chester, 2,320; Norwich, 2,316; Rockingham, 2,272; Fairfield, 2,270; Weathersfield, 2,213; Swanton, 2,158; Shaftsbury, 2,143; Brattleboro, 2,141; Shoreham, 2,137; Thetford, 2,113; Milton, 2,100; Hartford, 2,044; Highgate, 2,038; Barre, 2,012; Pittsford, 2,005. There were in the State 3,420 aliens, and 885 free colored persons; also 151 who were deaf and dumb, and 49 who were blind. There are few industrial statistics available for this census period, but the total value of manufactures was $1,507,779.

As the result of the prevalence of an insect pest, sometimes called a midge or weevil, between the years 1824 and 1837, wheat growing was largely abandoned in Vermont, and sheep raising flourished. The tariff law encouraged Vermont farmers to produce wool, and the industry grew rapidly.

Birthplace of Stephen A. Douglas

Temperance societies were active in Vermont in 1830. The first annual report of the Washington county organization, made in September of that year, declared that during the past year sixteen thousand gallons of liquor had been sold in the seven stores of Montpelier. Enough had been sold in the towns of Calais, Moretown, Northfield, Plainfield, Stowe, Waitsfield and Waterbury to increase the total to 29,423 gallons. No information had been secured concerning sales in the remaining towns of the county but estimating them on a basis of the towns mentioned, the total for the county, dispensed by merchants and others, would be approximately 38,250 gallons. As a considerable amount of intoxicating liquor was brought into the county by individuals for their own use, the total consumption was estimated to be between 39,000 and 40,000 gallons. Notwithstanding the large total reported it was asserted that the sales of liquor showed a material decrease over previous years. The sales in Montpelier in 1827 were said to have been 23,498 gallons. A decrease of 30 per cent in the amount of liquor sold was reported from Stowe, while Plainfield reported a falling off of 33 1-3 per cent, and in Waterbury the decrease was 60 per cent. The report asserted that whereas formerly the annual liquor bill of the county amounted to $30,000, it was now (1830) $20,000.

An Anti-Masonic State Convention was held in the State House at Montpelier, June 23, 1830. Rev. Aaron Leland of Chester presided, and a sermon was a feature of the convention. Heman Allen was nominated for

Governor but declined to be a candidate, and the name of Ex-Senator William A. Palmer was substituted.

The Jackson State Convention was held at the State House on July 7, and Ezra Meech of Shelburne was made the gubernatorial candidate. Governor Crafts was renominated by the National Republicans. There was no choice for Governor in the election that followed, although Governor Crafts had a substantial lead over his opponents. The vote was as follows: Crafts, 13,476; Palmer, 10,923; Meech, 6,285; scattering, 37. A joint legislative session was held on October 15 for the purpose of electing a Governor, the first ballot resulting as follows: Crafts, 105; Palmer, 80; William C. Bradley (Jackson candidate), 38; scattering, 5. Joint sessions were held both morning and afternoon on October 15, 16 and 18, and on October 19, on the thirty-second ballot, Governor Crafts was reelected by a majority of six votes. Robert B. Bates of Middlebury was elected Speaker. In his inaugural address Governor Crafts protested against imprisonment for debt as a penalty not in unison with the spirit of the age, and declared that public opinion called loudly for its removal. He called attention to the fact that Vermonters daily were emigrating to other States, and he urged the need of an easier and cheaper mode of transportation to the market towns. Although Vermont had paid annually into the national treasury nearly half a million dollars, the State, he said, "has received no benefit, excepting so far as those works may have added to the aggregate wealth and resources of the Nation." In

view of the fact he favored Congressional aid for similar projects in Vermont.

Mr. Mallary was reelected to Congress without serious opposition, and Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cahoon were chosen again. In a second election, Mr. Everett was returned to Congress. In the Fourth district there was no choice. One election after another was held at intervals of about two months with a variety of candidates until the summer of 1832, when Heman Allen, formerly Minister to Chili, the National Republican candidate, was chosen in the eleventh election.

During the legislative session of 1830 Samuel Prentiss of Montpelier was elected United States Senator as the Anti-Jackson or National Republican candidate, Dudley Chase having declined further service. The vote stood as follows: Samuel Prentiss, 120; William A. Palmer of Danville, 60; Titus Hutchinson of Woodstock, 29; William C. Bradley of Westminster, 4; scattering, 5. Mr. Prentiss was born in Stonington, Conn., March 31, 1782, but removed to Northfield, Mass., with his parents during his childhood. He studied law in Northfield and Brattleboro and was admitted to the bar in December, 1802. In 1803 he settled in Montpelier, where he soon built up an extensive practice. In 1824 and 1825 he represented Montpelier in the Legislature. In 1822 he was elected an Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court, but declined the office. In 1826 he was again elected Assistant Judge and accepted, holding the office until 1829, when he was elected Chief Justice. It is worthy of note that the Legislature which elected him United States Senator did not contain a majority of

National Republicans. He remained in the Senate until the death of the venerable Judge Elijah Paine, when he was appointed United States District Judge, a position which he held until his death, January 15, 1857. Chancellor Kent of New York is said to have declared that Judge Prentiss was the best jurist in New England.

During the legislative session of 1830, the act dividing the State into Congressional districts was repealed, probably to avoid the frequent special elections often made necessary. The law relating to imprisonment for debt was amended, the body of the debtor being exempted on taking a specified oath. A road law provided for five county commissioners, who were authorized to lay out roads and provide for bridges. The Congressional delegation was asked to use its influence to secure a survey by United States engineers of the most eligible route for a railroad from Boston to Ogdensburg, N. Y. The General Assembly declined to concur with the Louisiana proposal to amend the United States Constitution by extending the terms of the President and Vice President to six years, and making the President ineligible for reelection.

During the winter of 1830-31 the health of Rollin C. Mallary began to fail. He was able to participate somewhat in Congressional affairs, but not as actively as in previous years. After the adjournment of Congress he was removed to the home of a relative in Baltimore, where he was attended by his wife. He died April 15, 1831, in his forty-seventh year. The funeral was held in Baltimore, among the honorary pall bearers being Chief Justice Archer of the District Court, Mayor

Stewart, officers of the City Council, Ex-Congressman Howard and Hezekiah Niles, editor of *Niles' Register*. In commenting on Mr. Mallary's death, *Niles' Register* said: "By close examination and deep study he had made himself exceedingly well acquainted with the multifarious concerns of this great branch of industry (manufactures); and he was always on the alert to take care of its interests. His labors on the committee, especially in 1828, were indeed severe, and much impaired his general health. His fidelity to the trusts reposed in him was never surpassed—he was prompt in debate, always ready with his facts, oftentimes very powerful; while the mildness of his manners, his manifest honesty and frankness, the assurance of his freedom from wilful misrepresentation and chicanery, always gathered to him the confidence of those who generally thought and acted with him, and disarmed his opponents of that bitterness which has so often and too freely, entered into debate on the tariff question. He was steady at his post and, emphatically speaking, one of the very best business members of the House. His decease is a national loss."

The *Vermont Statesman*, in its obituary of Mr. Mallary said: "His station as chairman of the Committee on Manufactures has been the most laborious and, perhaps, the most important one in the House of Representatives for the last six sessions, and no member from the Northern States has received more homage and respect, or exerted more influence in that body." The bitterness of the South toward the tariff law is reflected in coarse and scurrilous comments published in a South

Carolina newspaper concerning Mr. Mallary's death.

Mr. Mallary died shortly before he had reached the comparatively early age of forty-seven years, but he had become, probably, the most conspicuous champion of the protective policy in Congress. Henry Clay, the famous champion of the "American System," was tending toward compromise in order to allay Southern hostility, but Mr. Mallary was not inclined to yield to threats of secession and was thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the measures that he advocated. It is worthy of note that Vermont should furnish to the Nation in the persons of Rollin C. Mallary and Justin S. Morrill, two of the most conspicuous champions of a protective tariff in American history. At the time of his death Mr. Mallary ranked among the most influential men in either branch of Congress, and had his life been spared he might have ranked among the great statesmen of American history. In later years his services have not received the recognition they deserve. The importance of the position he held as chairman of the Committee on Manufactures is indicated by the fact that he was succeeded in the position by Ex-President John Quincy Adams, whom a Massachusetts district had sent to the National House of Representatives. Mr. Mallary was one of the most distinguished men whom Vermont has sent to the American Congress and his early death was a serious loss both to the State and the Nation.

The candidates nominated to succeed Mr. Mallary were William Slade (Anti-Masonic), Mr. Williams (National Republican) and Mr. White (Jacksonian). Mr. Slade had a large plurality over Mr. Williams, and

Mr. White's vote was small, but there was no choice. After several unsuccessful attempts had been made, Mr. Slade was chosen to fill the unexpired term. William Slade was born in Cornwall, May 9, 1786, and was graduated from Middlebury College in 1807. He was admitted to the bar in 1810 and began the practice of law at Middlebury. He established *The Columbian Patriot,* which he edited from 1814 to 1816. In 1812 he was a Presidential Elector. He was Secretary of State from 1815 to 1823 and Assistant Judge of Addison County Court from 1816 to 1822. Allusion has been made to his service as Clerk in the State Department at Washington and his removal by the Jackson administration. He served in Congress until 1843 and during 1843 and 1844 was Reporter of Decisions of the Vermont Supreme Court. He was Governor of the State in 1845 and 1846. Although an active figure in the political life of his time he is better known to later generations as the compiler of "Slade's State Papers." He died January 18, 1859.

During the year 1831 a citizen of Vermont quite unwillingly figured in a State Rights controversy which grew out of the Indian policy of the Government. Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, a graduate of the University of Vermont, was a missionary sent to the Cherokee Indians of Georgia by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, where he had labored for years. He had been appointed by President John Quincy Adams, Postmaster at the Indian town of New Echota. Georgia had seized the Indian lands and enacted a law compelling all white men in the Indian country to secure a license prior to March 1, 1831, permitting them to

remain, under penalty of imprisonment for refusal to obey the act. Mr. Worcester and several of his associates refused to take out licenses, and they were arrested, but the Vermonter was released because he was a Federal office holder. The Jackson administration came to the assistance of Georgia by removing Mr. Worcester from the office of Postmaster. He was arrested again and taken to jail, chained by the neck to a baggage wagon. A State court found him guilty and sentenced him to four years in the penitentiary. An offer of a pardon from the Governor if he would promise never again to violate the law was refused and an appeal was taken to the United States Supreme Court. The case attracted wide attention and Northern newspapers published accounts of the sufferings of Mr. Worcester and his fellow prisoners. Georgia refused to appear before the Supreme Court and denied its jurisdiction. Chief Justice Marshall delivered the opinion in the case which has been described as one of the noblest ever written by him, in which the Cherokee laws of Georgia were declared unconstitutional, and an order was issued directing the release of the prisoners. This order the State refused to obey, and as the Jackson administration was hostile to the court and in sympathy with Georgia, the defiance of the highest court was permitted to go unpunished, and the decree unenforced. After remaining in prison for a year or more Mr. Worcester was pardoned and returned to Vermont.

The election of State officers in 1831 resulted in no choice for Governor, the vote being as follows: William A. Palmer (Anti-Masonic), 15,258; Heman Allen

(National Republican), 12,990; Ezra Meech (Jacksonian), 6,158; scattering, 270. The National Republican vote in the Legislature was divided between Heman Allen and Governor Crafts, but the united vote of the party would have been insufficient to elect. On the ninth ballot Ex-Senator Palmer was elected.

The Anti-Masonic movement spread with great rapidity in Vermont, and Caledonia county was the center of activity in New England. It is difficult to realize the extent of the disturbance caused throughout the State by this political development. The "History of Woodstock" declares that "the animosities engendered by the strife reached every family; they penetrated even the sanctuary and were attended with an exhibition of personalities such as the lover of sobriety and good order in society may hope never to see repeated." In some instances clergymen who were Masons were compelled to leave their parishes, not being allowed to enter churches. Families and churches were divided. Elsewhere Masons were excluded from jury service and from important town offices. At a funeral held in Danville, relatives who were Masons occupied one room and their opponents another. One faction stood on one side of the grave, and the other on the opposite side. A considerable number of Masons withdrew from their lodges and joined the new movement. Some persons traveled about the country giving what purported to be exhibitions of the working of Masonic degrees. In 1831 an attempt to dissolve the Grand Lodge of Vermont, F. and A. M., was defeated by a vote of 99 to 19. At the annual meeting held on the second Friday of October,

1833, a similar motion was voted down, 79 to 41, but a resolution was adopted permitting local lodges to surrender their charters and dispose of their property, only recommending that the money obtained from such sales be given to the common school funds of the State.

The Grand Lodge of Vermont was organized at a convention held at Rutland, October 14, 1794. Previous to that time five lodges had been organized, two receiving charters from Connecticut, two from Massachusetts and one from Lower Canada. The charters were dated respectively, 1781, 1785, 1791, 1793 and 1794. At the time of the convention of 1833, seventy-three chapters had been granted to Vermont lodges and sixty-eight were in force. In an address issued to the people of Vermont by the officers of the Grand Lodge and signed by Nathan B. Haswell, Grand Master, and others, it was charged that the Anti-Masonic agitation was political in its nature. Referring to the fact that Masons had been declared unworthy of civil or political promotion, the address said: "The bench, the magistracy, the jury box, the halls of legislation, have been declared situations in which our presence was inadmissible; and as far as our enemies have had the power and dared to exercise it, these doctrines have been enforced. It is but a few weeks since it was resolved solemnly in a public meeting that we 'ought to be disfranchised'." It was intimated that the persecution which the Masons had undergone might be visited upon the Methodists a little later. The signers asserted that never to their knowledge had the Masonic institution of Vermont been "forced from its legitimate objects of general benevolence and dif-

fusive charity." It was asserted that there had been no Masonic interference with religion or politics.

At a meeting of Washington county Masons, held at Montpelier, September 19, 1834, resolutions were unanimously adopted declaring that for the sake of restoring public tranquillity it was expedient and proper that the Masonic institution should be dissolved, and these resolutions also expressed the belief that among the changes and improvements of society it had become unnecessary. This was followed by the declaration that "we hereby cheerfully relinquish it forever." Similar resolutions were adopted on September 30 by the Masons of Windsor county. The Anti-Masonic movement flourished for several years, ending about 1835.

The Legislature of 1831 organized by electing John Smith of St. Albans as Speaker. In his inaugural address Governor Palmer alluded to the approbation uniformly expressed by the people of Vermont concerning the national policies of a protective tariff and internal improvements. He objected to the power which the creditor was able to exercise over the debtor and questioned the necessity of the frequent administration of oaths.

The Legislature authorized the appointment in each county of an inspector of hops. A banking law was enacted providing for the inspection of each bank in the State at least once a year and authorizing the appointment of three commissioners.

An Anti-Masonic National Convention was opened at Baltimore on September 26, 1831. The delegates from Vermont were Josiah Rising of Rupert, Samuel C.

Loveland of Reading, Charles Davis of Danville, Joseph H. Brainerd of St. Albans and Edward D. Barber of Middlebury. Among the delegates from other States were William H. Seward of New York and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. It does not appear that the Vermont delegation took a conspicuous part in the proceedings.

A national tariff convention was held in New York, opening on October 26, 1831. The Vermont delegates were Martin Chittenden of Williston, Charles Paine of Northfield, Heman Allen of Burlington, Isaac N. Cushman of Hartland, Francis Slason of Rutland, Thomas Hammond of Orwell, Charles H. Hammond of Bennington and Mark Richards of Westminster. Mr. Paine was one of the four secretaries of the convention and Mr. Allen was member of a committee appointed to prepare an address to the people. Members of the two principal parties were represented in the Vermont delegation.

The National Republican Convention convened at Baltimore on December 12, 1831. The Vermont delegates were Dan Carpenter of Waterbury, William A. Griswold of Burlington, Thomas D. Hammond of Orwell, William Jones of Weathersfield, Robert Temple of Rutland and Phineas White of Putney. The convention nominated Henry Clay of Kentucky for President and John Sargent of Pennsylvania for Vice President. Mr. Temple of Rutland was one of the four vice presidents of the convention and Mr. Jarvis was a member of the committee appointed to notify Mr. Clay of his nomination.

A Jackson National Convention was held at Baltimore, opening May 21, 1832, the party designation used being that of Jackson Republican. Both parties still clung to the name Republican, although both were to abandon it soon. Vermont's seven votes were cast for Martin Van Buren for President. Stephen Haight of Monkton was one of Vermont's delegates.

A Young Men's National Republican Convention was held at Baltimore May 11 and 12, 1832. Two of the Vermont delegates were Samuel B. Prentiss and J. Rich.

At the opening of Congress in December, 1831, Senator Seymour of Vermont was made chairman of the Committee on Agriculture.

On May 11, 1832, Congressman Jonathan Hunt of Vermont died at Washington, and his funeral was attended by members of the House. He had been a useful member and had displayed an ability superior to that shown by the average Congressman.

In June, 1832, there was a severe outbreak of cholera in Quebec and Montreal, which aroused widespread alarm in Vermont. A steamboat that arrived at Whitehall, N. Y., on June 15, brought one hundred and fifty immigrants from Montreal, two of whom died of cholera on the voyage. As a result immigrants were forcibly prevented from landing at Plattsburg and Burlington. A citizen of Troy, N. Y., who had been to Montreal, died on a steamboat at Whitehall. Only one physician in town would give assistance and the captain of the boat was obliged to bury the dead man. Steamboats were prevented from bringing more immigrants and every sudden death in the Champlain valley was

attributed to cholera. There were a few fatal cases in Vermont. The disease was prevalent in Europe. Mr. Van Ness, the United States Minister to Spain, suffered an attack, and Mrs. Van Ness died of cholera.

The State election of 1832, like that of 1830 and 1831, resulted in no choice, the vote for Governor being as follows: William A. Palmer (Anti-Masonic), 17,318; Samuel C. Crafts (National Republican), 15,499; Ezra Meech (Democratic), 8,210. This year the Jackson or Jackson-Republican party was known as the Democratic organization. The Legislature balloted from October 12 to October 18, and on the forty-third ballot Governor Palmer was reelected, receiving 111 votes. Governor Crafts received 72, and Mr. Meech 37 votes. In his inaugural address Governor Palmer alluded to the cholera epidemic, which had raged in the Canadian provinces and neighboring States, and declared that he had not had the authority necessary to establish quarantine regulations as requested by certain individuals and organizations. Referring to the opposition of President Jackson to rechartering the United States Bank, he expressed the opinion that a great majority of Vermonters were in favor of the continuation of the bank. John Smith of St. Albans was reelected Speaker.

A charter was granted to the Vermont Railroad Company to build from some point on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, following the valley of the Winooski River, to a point on the Connecticut River where it would meet a railroad from Boston and Concord. The incorporators were Timothy Follett, John N. Pomeroy, John Peck, Luther Loomis, Harry Bradley, John John-

son, Henry Thomas, Samuel Prentiss, Timothy Hubbard, Thomas Reed, Jr., Elisha P. Jewett, Dan Carpenter, John Spalding, Joseph Reed, Joshua Y. Vail, Daniel Baldwin, Araunah Waterman, Oramel H. Smith, Ezekiel P. Walton, George W. Hill, William Upham, Isaac N. Cushman, John McDuffie, David Johnson, Jacob Collamer, Ira Day, John Downer, Charles Paine, Jonathan Jenness, William Atkinson, Amplius Blake, Jedediah H. Harris and George W. Prichard. The capital stock was one million dollars.

As Vermont grew in population, the first State House was found inadequate for legislative and executive business. In 1831 a resolution was adopted appointing Ezra Meech of Shelburne, Robert Temple of Rutland, Allen Wardner of Windsor and Timothy Hubbard of Montpelier, a committee to consider proposals from various towns for the erection of a new State House. The Committee reported in 1832 that the citizens of Burlington had offered thirty thousand dollars for a building if that town should be made the State capital. The people of Montpelier and vicinity offered to contribute fifteen thousand dollars toward a new building, which should be erected on or near the site of the first State House, the cost of which should be not less than thirty thousand dollars. The Legislature therefore voted to appropriate fifteen thousand dollars toward the erection of a State House at Montpelier, provided the inhabitants of that town, on or before January 1, 1833, gave a bond to pay the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. Samuel C. Crafts of Craftsbury, Allen Wardner of Windsor and George T. Hodges of Rutland, were

appointed a building committee, and Lieut. Gov. Lebbeus R. Egerton of Randolph was named as superintendent. After visiting the capitals of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, the committee accepted a design submitted by Ammi B. Young, a Montpelier architect. The building was located about two hundred and fifty feet northwest of the first State House, in order that the grounds in front of the building might be more spacious. Dark Barre granite was chosen for the building material. The cost of preparing the foundation was large, as it was necessary to remove a ledge of rocks in order to secure the proper level. Consequently subsequent Legislatures appropriated twenty thousand dollars, twenty-five thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars respectively, for completing and furnishing the building, grading the grounds and fencing them. Later twenty-eight thousand, five hundred dollars was appropriated for completing the work, which was accomplished in 1838.

The structure consisted of a central building one hundred feet deep, with two wings, fifty feet deep, the length of the entire building being one hundred and fifty-six feet. It was surmounted by a dome sheathed with copper, the height being one hundred feet. In front of the building was a portico, modeled, it is said, after the Temple of Theseus with some slight variations, and ornamented with six fluted Doric pillars, each six feet in diameter. The first floor was used for State offices and committee rooms. On the second floor were the halls used for legislative purposes. This State

House was first used in 1836, some time before its completion.

In 1832 the State again was divided into Congressional districts, as follows: First District—Bennington and Windham counties and the Windsor county towns of Andover, Baltimore, Cavendish, Chester, Ludlow, Springfield and Weston.

Second District—Addison and Rutland counties.

Third District—Orange county and Windsor county with the exception of the towns contained in the First District.

Fourth District—Chittenden, Grand Isle and Franklin counties and part of Orleans county.

Fifth District—Caledonia, Essex and Washington counties and the Orleans county towns of Barton, Brownington, Charleston, Derby, Glover, Greensboro, Holland, Morgan, Salem and Westmore.

The national agitation over the tariff, internal improvements and the United States Bank are reflected in resolutions adopted. Reference was made to "an organized and powerful opposition to the system of protection to domestic enterprise and industry usually denominated the 'American System,' which has heretofore been considered the settled policy of the Government"; and to a proposition for the reduction of tariff duties "to an extent destructive to the leading interests of the Union," made by the head of the Treasury Department, with the sanction of the President. Senators were instructed and Representatives requested "to oppose any and every modification of the tariff laws which shall have any tendency to weaken or destroy their efficiency as a system

of protection to domestic manufactures." They were also instructed "to aid in procuring appropriations for such works of internal improvement as shall, in their opinion, be of general and national importance"; and "to use their endeavors to procure a recharter of the present Bank of the United States."

An echo of the controversy between President Jackson and Chief Justice Marshall is heard in the instructions to the members of the Congressional delegation to use their influence and their votes "to preserve inviolate the integrity and resist all encroachments upon the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, and to insure the independence of the judiciary in every department." Several banks were incorporated during the session; a village charter was granted to Brattleboro, and Middlebury, incorporated as a borough in 1816, was granted a charter as a village.

In the Presidential election of 1832, President Jackson was reelected by a large majority over Henry Clay and other candidates. Vermont was the only State in the Union to cast its vote for the Anti-Masonic candidates, William Wirt of Maryland and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania. The various candidates received pluralities in the following counties: Wirt, Addison, Caledonia, Franklin, Orange, Orleans and Windsor; Clay, Bennington, Chittenden, Grand Isle, Rutland and Windham; Jackson, Essex and Washington. The Vermont Presidential Electors chosen in 1832 were: James Tarbox of Randolph, Amos Thompson of Poultney, Nathan Leavenworth of Hinesburg, John S. Pettibone of Manchester, Ezra Butler of Waterbury,

Augustine Clark of Montpelier and William Strong of Hartford.

Hon. Horatio Seymour, having declined to be a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate, Benjamin Swift, a former Congressman, was elected, the vote in the Legislature being as follows: Benjamin Swift of St. Albans, 120; Orsamus C. Merrill of Bennington, 43; Charles K. Williams of Rutland, 26; William Slade of Middlebury, 10; scattering, 5. Congressmen William Slade, Horace Everett, Hiland Hall and Heman Allen were reelected. Benjamin F. Deming of Danville was chosen to succeed Mr. Cahoon. He was born in Danville in 1790, was Clerk of Caledonia County Court, 1817-1833, Judge of Probate from 1821 until 1833, and a member of the Executive Council from 1824 to 1833. He died July 11, 1834.

Hiland Hall of Bennington had been elected to fill the unexpired portion of the term of Jonathan Hunt, deceased, and now was chosen for a full term. He was born in Bennington, July 20, 1795, attended the public schools, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1819, practicing his profession in his native town, which he represented in the Legislature of 1827. He was County Clerk for Bennington county in 1828 and State's Attorney, 1828-1831. He served in Congress until March, 1843, when he was appointed State Bank Commissioner, a position which he held until 1846. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont from 1846 to 1850, Second Comptroller of the United States Treasury, 1850-1851, and United States Land Commissioner for California, 1851-1854. He was a delegate to the first

Republican National Convention in 1856 and was elected Governor of Vermont in 1858, being reelected in 1859. He was chairman of the Vermont delegation to the Peace Congress of 1861. He was a diligent student of Vermont history and for six years was president of the Vermont Historical Society. In 1868 his "Early History of Vermont" was published. This is a thorough and comprehensive work. Governor Hall was actively engaged in the promotion and erection of the Bennington Battle Monument. He died December 18, 1885, at the age of ninety years. Governor Hall was one of the ablest, most useful, and most versatile of the public men of Vermont.

The threatening attitude of South Carolina, resulting from the opposition of the South to the tariff act of 1828, was intensified by the passage of the so-called "Force Bill," designed to aid in the collection of duties. Following the enactment of this measure, Henry Clay proposed one of the famous compromises with which his name is identified, and which provided for a gradual reduction of tariff duties and a large increase in the free list. The measure was frankly offered as a concession to the South. Mr. Everett of Vermont in vain sought to amend the bill by restoring the former duty on wool, but was opposed by James K. Polk and others. By the close vote of 58 to 55, the House adopted an amendment laying a duty of two cents a pound on copperas, offered by Mr. Everett. All members of the Vermont delegation in both Senate and House voted against the Clay compromise tariff bill, which became a law in 1833.

The general support given by the people of Vermont to the protective tariff system at this time, irrespective of party lines, is indicated by the action of political conventions, legislative resolutions and the utterances of newspapers. The Democratic State Convention of 1833 declared, "We consider the doctrine or opinion that a member of the Confederacy can nullify or oppose, by force, a law of the Union, as a dangerous political heresy, and as manifestly at war with the letter and spirit of the Constitution." In discussing possible candidates for Congress in 1832, the *Burlington Sentinel,* a Democratic newspaper, said: "As to the great question of the American System, there is but one party in New England, and where is the man in this district that is not of that party?" Later in the same year the *Sentinel* said: "The time has been when all New England, except Vermont, was opposed to the American System. Vermont alone has always been true and faithful to that policy." A Young Men's Democratic-Republican Convention, held at St. Albans in 1832, approved a protective tariff policy, and a system of internal improvements, and declared that the Supreme Court decision on the Cherokee land case, involving the rights of an Indian tribe in Georgia, was "paramount to the laws of that State."

In June, 1833, it was expected that President Jackson would visit Vermont, and plans were made to receive him with suitable honors, but owing to ill health he was unable to continue his trip northward, coming no farther than Concord, N. H.

The desire to overthrow the Anti-Masonic party in Vermont was so strong that in the summer of 1833 the National Republicans and Democrats, long time political enemies, united on a coalition ticket, the Democrats naming candidates for Governor and four Councillors, and the National Republicans, the candidates for Lieutenant Governor, Treasurer, and eight Councillors. Ezra Meech of Shelburne was nominated for Governor, and declared his belief in a protective tariff. A few dissatisfied National Republicans nominated ex-Senator Horatio Seymour as a candidate for Governor, but he declined the nomination. Notwithstanding this rather unnatural political combination, Governor Palmer was reelected, receiving a small majority of the popular vote. The official figures were as follows: William Palmer, 20,565; Ezra Meech, 15,683; Horatio Seymour, 1,765; John Roberts, 772; scattering, 120. Although Ex-Senator Seymour had refused a nomination, he received the votes of some National Republicans who would not support the Democratic candidate. Union candidates were elected in the Legislature by narrow majorities and John Smith was reelected Speaker by a majority of two votes.

In his inaugural address, Governor Palmer referred to the need of revising the militia laws of the State. A glimpse of the home life of the Vermont executive is shown in a letter from a British visitor, which was published in the *London Courier* and in which he relates the fact that he was detained for an hour or two at a certain place (probably Danville, Vt.) and saw "a sturdy looking farmer pass the inn, driving a one-horse cart,

loaded with wool, on which he was seated. He drove to the store, shouldered his bales of wool, one after another, and placed them in the merchant's shop. Who do you think this was? Palmer, the present Governor of the State of Vermont."

Among the acts of 1833 was one directing the officials to report the number of blind persons, and those needing aid in securing an education. Provision was made for the appointment of commissioners of the deaf and dumb, whose duties included the superintendence of the education of blind children, an annual appropriation of one thousand, two hundred dollars being made for this purpose. The gratitude of the Legislature was expressed to the Governor and other officials of Lower Canada "for their cordial and efficient exertions in apprehending and bringing to justice the extensive combination of forgers and counterfeiters of American coin and bank bills, located within the limits of that province." Various acts were passed during the period for the relief of turnpike companies, making such roads public highways.

Senator Prentiss, on March 11, 1834, presented a memorial signed by citizens of Burlington, Vt., praying for a restoration of Government deposits to the United States Bank, "and spoke at considerable length on the subject at large." He was followed by his colleague, Senator Swift, "who described the derangement of business in Vermont, and the distress that prevailed, aggravated as it was by the failure of the grain crops last season." The newspapers of the period contain numerous references to petitions of a similar nature pre-

sented by Vermont Senators and Congressmen. The *Burlington Sentinel* referred to "the depressed and embarrassed condition of affairs in Vermont," adding: "The mechanic and farming classes are overwhelmed with debt. Their farms and products are under a continual mortgage and lien."

Congressman Everett was chairman of a committee which reported a bill to establish an Indian Territory in the West and he explained its provisions to the House.

A Council of Censors met at Montpelier, June 4, 1834, and elected as president Joel Doolittle of Middlebury. The other members were Stephen Robinson of Bennington, William Strong of Hartford, John Phelps of Guilford, Nathaniel Harman of Poultney, Joseph Reed of Montpelier, Alvan Foote of Burlington, Robert Harvey of Barnet, Elisha H. Starkweather of Irasburg, Joseph Smith of Berkshire, David Hibbard, Jr., of Concord, Samuel W. Porter of Springfield and William Hebard of Randolph. This convention continued for three days. A second convention was held October 15-24, 1834, and a third, January 7-16, 1835. Among the recommendations were proposals of amendment to elect Supreme Court Judges for seven years, subject to removal by two-thirds of the Legislature; to create a Senate; to make population the basis of representation; to abolish the Council of Censors, submitting proposals of amendment directly to the people; to provide for the election of all county officials by popular vote; to limit the number of Justices of the Peace in each town to ten, who might hold office for three years unless removed.

A Constitutional Convention was held at Montpelier, January 6-14, 1836, and adopted twelve of the amendments proposed. The most important included the abolition of the Executive Council and the substitution of a Senate, apportioned according to population, with power to try impeachments; the vesting of executive power in the Governor and Lieutenant Governor; prohibiting the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus for any reason; and providing for the election of county and probate officers. On four previous occasions, beginning in 1792, Councils of Censors had proposed the establishment of a Senate, but each time the proposal had been rejected. In the convention of 1836 the amendment was advocated with great earnestness by Judge Daniel Chipman and was adopted by the slender majority of three votes.

About this time the party name of Whig was substituted for National Republican. References in Democratic newspapers indicate an attempt on the part of Whigs and Anti-Masons to unite as a single organization. The Democratic candidate for Governor, in 1834, was former Congressman William C. Bradley. The Whig candidate was Ex-Senator Horatio Seymour, while the Anti-Masons renominated Governor Palmer. No candidate had a majority, the vote being as follows: Palmer, 18,880; Bradley, 10,385; Seymour, 10,159; scattering, 84. Governor Palmer was reelected by the Legislature on the first ballot, receiving 126 out of 168 votes cast. Mr. Seymour had declined to be a candidate before the joint assembly and it is not impossible that Mr. Bradley had made a similar announcement. There were unmistakable indications of an early dissolution

of the Anti-Masonic party, and both the Whig and the Democratic parties sought to receive an accession of strength as a result of the collapse. This will explain the lack of opposition to Governor Palmer's reelection. Ebenezer N. Briggs of Salisbury was elected Speaker.

In his inaugural address, Governor Palmer made a cautious reference to the controversy over the United States Bank. He did not doubt the constitutionality or the necessity of such a bank with proper powers and restrictions, but he was opposed to a renewal of the bank without some modifications of its charter. Referring to alleged abuses and assumptions of power by President Jackson, he declared that any manifestation of a disposition on the part of the President to overstep the bounds of the Constitution and laws, or to exceed his legal authority, "should be met and resisted on the threshold, as the beginning of tyranny."

During the legislative session of 1834 women were exempted from imprisonment for debt, the Vermont Asylum for the Insane was incorporated and Town Clerks were requested to forward to the Secretary of State lists of insane persons. Resolutions were adopted in favor of protection to American industry, a national bank, a policy of internal improvements, and an equitable distribution of moneys received from the sale of public lands for educational purposes. The Legislature also declared "that the Executive of the United States, in his late removal of the public moneys from the place of custody established by law, exercised a power not given to him by the Constitution or laws, but in derogation of both, and in his late protest to the Senate of the United

States has asserted doctrines and claimed for himself powers, at variance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, subversive of the legitimate authority of the other branches of the Government, and dangerous to the liberties of the people." The Congressional delegation was requested to use their influence and their votes "to maintain inviolate the authority of the legislative department, and resist all encroachments upon its constitutional powers."

The Anti-Masonic members of the Legislature adopted resolutions declaring that the surrender of the charters of many Masonic lodges furnished gratifying evidence of an advance toward the accomplishment of the purpose for which the party was organized. Allusion was made to causes for alarm for the safety and stability of American institutions, and President Jackson's removal of the Government deposits from the United States Bank and his inauguration of the "spoils system" in public appointments were condemned. This declaration foreshadowed the early dissolution of the Anti-Masonic party.

Congressmen Allen, Everett, Hall and Slade, all Whigs, were reelected, and Henry F. Janes was chosen to succeed Congressman Deming, deceased. Henry F. Janes was born in Brimfield, Mass., October 10, 1792, and removed with his parents to Calais, Vt. He served in the War of 1812, participating in the battle of Plattsburg. He studied law at Montpelier and was admitted to the bar in 1817, locating in Waterbury for the practice of his profession. He was Postmaster at Waterbury, 1820-1830, and member of the Governor's Council, 1830-

1834. He completed Mr. Deming's unexpired term, and served in Congress until March, 1837, having been defeated for reelection in 1836. He was State Treasurer from 1838 to 1841 and represented Waterbury in the Legislature in 1854, in 1861 and 1862. He died June 6, 1879.

The Democratic National Convention assembled at Baltimore on May 20, 1835, nearly a year and a half before the Presidential election of 1836. The Vermont delegates were Charles Linsley, Nathan B. Haswell, Winslow C. Watson, Fred Pettis, Barnard Ketchum, A. W. Hyde and Daniel Baldwin. The Vermont delegates voted for Martin Van Buren for President and Richard M. Johnson for Vice President.

The Anti-Masonic party in Vermont in 1835 renominated Governor Palmer and placed Silas H. Jenison of Shoreham in nomination for Lieutenant Governor. The Democrats again nominated William C. Bradley of Westminster. Some Whigs supported Charles Paine of Northfield, but apparently many supported Governor Palmer. A Washington county coalition of Whigs and Anti-Masons refused to support Governor Palmer for the reason that his opposition to Martin Van Buren was not considered sufficiently vigorous. This suspicion was probably the cause of Governor Palmer's defeat. The *Burlington Sentinel* (Democratic) charged that Anti-Masonry being about to expire (1835), its supporters were preparing to leap upon "the hobby of anti-slavery." About this time a change was observed in the attitude of some Democratic newspapers in Vermont toward slavery. It was declared absurd to suppose that

denunciation of slavery from this part of the country could be of service to the slaves, or aid in the abolition of slavery; and reference was made to the extreme sensitiveness of "our Southern brethren" on this subject. The *Sentinel,* on September 18, 1835, declared that "We need not go beyond the limits of Vermont to find evils as odious as that of slavery."

About November 1, 1835, while Rev. Samuel J. May was addressing an anti-slavery meeting at Montpelier, he was made a target for eggs thrown through a window. A similar meeting was appointed for the following evening. A request was made "by several gentlemen of Montpelier" that Mr. May should not attempt to speak but he insisted upon keeping his appointment. He was prevented from making himself heard by the stamping of feet and hissing, and the meeting was broken up. The *Sentinel* attempted to condone the offence.

There was no choice for Governor in the fall election of 1835. The vote cast was as follows: Palmer, 16,210; Bradley, 13,254; Paine, 5,435; scattering, 54. The entire Anti-Masonic Council ticket was supported by the Whigs and was elected. A similar coalition elected Ebenezer N. Briggs of Salisbury, Speaker over D. A. A. Buck of Chelsea, the Democratic candidate.

From October 9 to November 2 the Legislature in frequent joint sessions unsuccessfully attempted to elect a Governor. Sixty-three ballots were taken, the vote on the last being: Palmer, 102; Bradley, 63; Paine, 40; Jenison, 8. Then, on motion of Lyman Fitch of Thetford, a Democratic member, by a vote of 113 to 100, the

joint committee was dissolved, and Lieutenant Governor Jenison continued to perform the duties of Governor.

The Legislature of 1835 established a new county, named Lamoille, taking from Orleans county the towns of Eden, Hyde Park, Morristown and Wolcott; from Franklin county, Belvidere, Cambridge, Johnson, Sterling and Waterville; from Washington county, Stowe and Elmore; and from Chittenden county, Mansfield. Imprisonment for debt was abolished. An act was passed to encourage the growing of silk within the State, and the Treasurer was authorized to pay a bounty of ten cents for each pound of cocoons "raised or grown" in Vermont. *Niles' Register* in January, 1829, referred to the growth of mulberry trees in Vermont. Several attempts were made to produce silk in this State which were abandoned in a few years. Some silk actually was produced between the years 1835 and 1845.

This session was notable for its railroad legislation. Railroad construction had begun in other States, and the idea of speedier transportation appealed strongly to the people of Vermont. The Vermont Central Railroad Company was incorporated, the route being the same as that proposed for the Vermont Railroad Company, to which a charter was granted in 1832. The capital stock was fixed at one million dollars, and John N. Pomeroy, Timothy Follett, John Peck and Luther Loomis of Burlington, John Spalding, Timothy Hubbard and J. P. Miller of Montpelier, Lewis Lyman of Hartford, Chester Baxter of Sharon and Amplius Blake of Chelsea were appointed commissioners to raise subscriptions.

Connecticut River, Lemington

The Rutland and Connecticut River Railroad Company was incorporated to operate a road "from some suitable place in Rutland, in the direction of Ludlow and Cavendish, to such point on the west bank of the Connecticut River as shall be judged expedient by said corporation." The capital stock was fixed at five hundred thousand dollars, with power to increase it to one million dollars. The incorporators were Jabez Proctor, Abel Gilson, Jr., Salmon F. Dutton, Willard B. Johnson, Nomlas Cobb, Samuel W. Proctor, Abner Field, 2nd, Henry Hubbard, Horace Hall, S. D. Hassam, George Olcott, Samuel Crosby, Thomas Emerson, Horace Everett, Allen Wardner, Carlos Coolidge, Frederick Pettis, Francis E. Phelps, Francis Kidder, Francis K. Nichols, Jonathan Lawrence, John Dunbar, Henry Hodges, Levi Firmey, Reuben Washburn, Stephen Cummings, William Warner and Augustus Haven.

The Bennington and Brattleboro Railroad was incorporated, to operate from some point on the eastern boundary of the towns of Putney, Dummerston, Brattleboro or Vernon, to the State line in Readsboro, Pownal, Bennington, Shaftsbury, Arlington or Stamford. The capital stock was to be five hundred thousand dollars, with the power to increase it to one million dollars. The incorporators were Francis Goodhue, John Holbrook, Jona D. Bradley, Henry Smith, Paul Chase, John C. Holbrook, Isaac Doolittle and Pierpont Isham.

The Connecticut and Passumpsic Railroad Company was granted a charter to build from some point on the southern boundary of the State up the valleys of the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers to the north line of

the State in the town of Derby or Newport. The amount of the capital stock was fixed at two million dollars. The incorporators were Gardner C. Hall, Epaphro Seymour, Phineas White, James Keyes, Mark Richards, William Henry, Henry T. Green, Thomas Emerson, Frederick Pettis, Allen Wardner, Henry Stevens, Ebenezer Brewer, Erastus Fairbanks, Huxham Paddock, Ephraim Chamberlain, Jr., Silas Houghton, Ellis Cobb, Harry Baxter, Portus Baxter, Elijah Cleveland and Isaac Parker. The Vergennes and Bristol Railroad Company was also incorporated, with a capital stock of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

In response to petitions from the Society of Friends or Quakers, a resolution was reported asking the Congressional delegation to vote for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, but owing to political influences it was dismissed by a vote of 86 to 34.

The dividends of Vermont from the proceeds of the sales of public lands during the years 1833-1835 amounted to $433,713.

In his annual message, delivered at the opening of Congress, in December, 1835, President Jackson condemned the circulation in the South of "inflammatory appeals, addressed to the passions of the slaves"; and suggested the propriety of passing an act which would prohibit under severe penalties, the circulation through the mails in the Southern States "of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection." Mr. Hall of Vermont, on March 25, 1836, asked leave to present a minority report from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, to which the above mentioned

portion of the President's message had been referred. A majority of the committee had approved the expediency of such legislation, but had been unable to agree upon a measure. The minority members, for whom Mr. Hall spoke, believed that Congress "possessed no constitutional power to pass any law on the subject," and asked to have a statement of their views printed. Objection was made and the House refused to suspend the rules and agree to the motion. Mr. Slade of Vermont sought to amend the bill admitting the Territory of Arkansas to Statehood by requiring the amendment of its constitution so that the Legislature should not be prohibited from passing laws permitting the emancipation of slaves unless the owners gave them consent. The amendment was rejected.

Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina, from the select committee to which was referred memorials favoring the abolition of slavery, on May 25, 1836, reported a series of resolutions to the House. The first declared that Congress had no constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in any "of the States of the Confederacy." It was adopted by a vote of 182 to 9, and three of the nine negative votes were cast by Messrs. Everett, Janes and Slade, Vermont Congressmen. John Quincy Adams also voted nay. Messrs. Allen and Hall of Vermont voted yea. On the second resolution, declaring that Congress ought not to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia, all the Vermont Congressmen voted nay, but it was adopted by a vote of 132 to 45. Similar action was taken by the Vermont Congressmen on the third resolution, providing that all petitions,

memorials, resolutions, etc., relating to slavery or its abolition, without being printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and no further action taken, but this resolution was adopted by a vote of 117 to 68.

The Anti-Masonic organization was still in existence in Vermont in 1836, and toward the end of February both Anti-Masonic and Whig conventions were held at Montpelier and endorsed Gen. William Henry Harrison as a Presidential candidate. Lieut. Gov. Silas H. Jenison, Acting Governor, was placed at the head of the Anti-Masonic State ticket, and his nomination was indorsed by the Whig convention. Jenison was elected by a small majority, receiving 20,471 votes, while William C. Bradley, the Democratic candidate, received 16,124, and there were 35 scattering votes. It is evident that the Whig party did not capture all the Anti-Masonic strength, for, although the Whigs were in the ascendancy in the State as long as the party was an active force, the Democratic party was a rather close second until an Anti-slavery organization became a power to be reckoned with in Vermont politics.

Silas H. Jenison was born in Shoreham, Vt., May 17, 1791, being the first native of Vermont to hold that office. His father died in his infancy and his services were required on the home farm so that he was able to obtain only a common school education. Later he secured the services of a tutor and acquired a knowledge of Latin and French, mathematics and surveying. He represented Shoreham in the Legislatures of 1826 and 1830 inclusive, was Judge of Addison County Court, 1829 to 1835, and was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1834

and again in 1835. During the last named year he was Acting Governor, and he held the office of Governor until 1846, when he declined reelection. He served as Judge of Probate, 1841-1847 and was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1843. Governor Jenison was noted for his sound common sense, his fearlessness and his faithfulness in the performance of his duty. He died on September 30, 1849.

Carlos Coolidge, the Whig candidate for Speaker, was elected by a majority of thirty-seven. In his message to the Legislature Governor Jenison suggested that the State make surveys of possible transportation routes, referring to the desire that railroad lines should be built.

A surplus having accumulated in the United States Treasury from the sale of public lands and from other sources, an act of Congress, passed in 1836, provided that all money in the Treasury on January 1, 1837, the sum of five million dollars excepted, should be deposited with the several States in proportion to their respective representation in Congress, if the States authorized a competent person to receive the money and the faith of the State should be pledged to return the deposit if required. The Vermont Legislature, in the autumn of 1836, passed an act authorizing the State Treasurer to receive the State's share of the deposit money, so-called; and towns were authorized to appoint three trustees each to receive and manage such a fund, which was to be apportioned according to population and used for the benefit of the public schools. If the town funds were sufficient for the suitable maintenance of its schools for six months each year, then the income could be

used in other ways as a town might direct. This fund was to be redistributed every ten years following an announcement of the population by the Census Department. Vermont's share of the fund was $669,086.74.

A law passed at this session declared circus riding, theatrical exhibitions, juggling, sleight of hand, ventriloquism and magic arts, to be public nuisances. Numerous industrial corporations were chartered, including the Beet Root Sugar Manufacturing Company of Enosburg.

Resolutions were adopted declaring "That neither Congress nor the State governments have any constitutional right to abridge the free expression of opinions, or the transmission of them through the public mails; and that Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia." The Governor was directed to transmit copies of these resolutions to the Vermont Senators and Representatives in Congress and to the Governor of each State.

This was the first Legislature in which a Senate was part of the law-making body, and among its members were Orsamus C. Merrill, a former Congressman; Nathan Smilie, several times an unsuccessful candidate for Governor; William A. Palmer, former Governor and United States Senator; and Julius Converse, a future Governor. When the first session of the Senate was opened, the members were sworn in by a Washington county Justice of the Peace, Paul Dillingham, Jr., afterward a Governor of the State. Ebenezer N. Briggs of Salisbury was elected President Pro Tem and Robert Pierpont of Rutland, also a member of the Senate, was

elected Temporary Secretary. Samuel Prentiss was reelected United States Senator, receiving 130 votes. William C. Bradley, the Democratic candidate, received 94 votes and the scattering votes numbered 27.

Three Whig Congressmen, Heman Allen, Hiland Hall and William Slade, were reelected by substantial majorities, Mr. Allen's opponent being Cornelius P. Van Ness. There was no election in the district represented by Mr. Everett (Whig), but he was chosen at a special election. One Democratic member, Isaac Fletcher of Lyndon, was elected as a result of a coalition with Anti-Masonic voters, receiving a majority of 393. Mr. Fletcher was born at Dunstable, Mass., November 22, 1784. He graduated from Dartmouth College in the class of 1808, studied law, was admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession at Lyndon. He represented the town in the Legislature in 1819, 1820, 1822 and 1824, serving one term as Speaker. He was State's Attorney of Caledonia county, 1820-1828, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1822, and Adjutant General on the staff of Governor Van Ness. He served two terms in Congress and died October 19, 1842.

Vermont's Presidential vote in 1836 was: Harrison (Whig), 20,994; Van Buren (Democratic), 14,037. The Presidential Electors chosen were Jabez Proctor of Cavendish, Timothy Howe, Samuel Swift of Middlebury, Titus Hutchinson of Woodstock, David Crawford of Putney, William A. Griswold of Burlington and Edward Lamb of Montpelier. Vermont's electoral vote was cast for William H. Harrison and Francis Granger.

During this period the emigration to the West was large and the town of Vermontville, Mich., was established in May, 1836. In the fall of 1835, Rev. Sylvester Cochrane of East Poultney went out to Michigan, looked over the region, returned to Vermont and organized a colony. A constitution and code of laws were adopted on March 27, 1836, to which the signatures of forty-two persons were attached. Twenty-two of the signers became residents of the new settlement. Two members were sent in advance to Michigan, and after exploring the country, selected a site and laid out a village. A Congregational church was organized and a school was established. The colonists included ten farmers, one clergyman, one physician, one surveyor, one merchant, one blacksmith, one machinist, one printer, one cabinet maker and one cooper. The Vermont towns represented included Bennington, Benson, Brandon, Castleton, Dorset, New Haven, Orwell, Poultney, Sudbury, West Haven and West Rutland.

Ezra Meech and six other Vermont Democrats, at a meeting held in Burlington, April 21, 1837, invited Senator Silas Wright of New York to visit that town and accept a public dinner. Attention was called to the fact that a majority of the people of the State were opposed to the Jackson administration. Silas Wright had spent his boyhood in Vermont and was a graduate of Middlebury College. At that time he was one of the leaders of the Democratic party of the Nation. He had been a close friend of President Jackson, an influential member of the Finance Committee, and a Democratic leader in the Senate. Although he did not accept the invitation

he replied in a long letter which gave an excellent outline of political conditions and opinions in Vermont and in the country at large. He referred to the fact that his early life had been spent in this State and that his parents and all his brothers and sisters still resided here. When he left Vermont in 1815 the State was overwhelmingly Democratic. Political controversy ceased for several years following the close of the War of 1812, and, according to this letter, strife over national questions was not resumed until 1823-1824. In his opinion local feeling and sectional prejudice had induced Vermonters to support a New England candidate in the person of John Quincy Adams. Then followed the excitement of Anti-Masonry. He had hoped that Vermont would support President Jackson, but it had not done so, and even with a Northern President (Van Buren) it was still in opposition. His hope that the State would return to its former political affiliations was not entertained as confidently as it had been at the beginning of the Jackson administration. He feared that the distractions of Anti-Masonry, which had served to divide the people of the State during the preceding administration, would be succeeded "by some other exciting topic or political hobby, like Anti-Slavery or modern Abolitionism." His interest in the return of Vermont to the Democratic faith, however, was very keen.

Both candidates for Governor nominated in 1836 were renominated in 1837, and Jenison was reelected, receiving 22,260 votes. The Democratic candidate, William C. Bradley, received 17,730 votes and eight scattering votes were cast. Solomon Foot of Rutland was

elected Speaker over John Smith of St. Albans by a vote of 113 to 93, ten scattering votes being cast.

At this time the country was suffering from the effects of a severe panic. Business was crippled and failures were numerous. An insect pest had seriously damaged the wheat crop and large shipments of wheat had been imported from Europe. The Whigs asserted that the panic was due to the removal of deposits from Eastern to Western banks, permitting speculation in government lands on a large scale, and to the abolition of the National Bank. In his annual message Governor Jenison referred to "the peculiarly embarrassing circumstances which have been operating upon the currency and business of the country for a few months past." The Governor had been urged to call the Legislature in special session; but as it was his opinion that "the unwise and unauthorized measures of the late Executive of the General Government (President Jackson) had been the primary cause of producing the disastrous state of our monetary affairs," he did not believe a legislative session could cure a national evil. He believed that the suspension of specie payments by the banks, a policy followed in many other States, had rendered them liable to forfeiture of their charters. He saw in the condition of affairs an argument for greater tariff protection.

A new militia law was enacted, also an act directing the sorting and packing of beef for exportation. A State flag was established, consisting of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, with one large star, white on a blue field, bearing the State coat of arms thereon.

Late in the year 1837 there was an uprising in Canada against British authority, which aroused much sympathy along the American border, particularly in Vermont. The War of 1812 was still fresh in the minds of many citizens and the events of the Revolutionary struggle were familiar to every school boy. Hostility to Great Britain was strong. Naturally the revolt of Canadians against what they considered oppression and misrule aroused a keen desire that the people across the border might win their independence. A largely attended meeting of Canadians was held at St. Charles, Que., on October 23 and 24, which adopted resolutions declaring their grievances. At the same place, on November 25, a battle was fought in which the Canadians were defeated. A considerable number of the revolutionary force fled across the border, finding refuge in Swanton, Highgate and other Vermont towns. These refugees feared arrest on a charge of high treason if they remained in Canada. Leaders of the anti-British movement also assembled at Swanton, including L. J. Papineau, whose name sometimes has been given to the uprising. A party of about two hundred Canadians left Swanton on December 6, where they had been armed and equipped, although their arms and ammunition were of an inferior quality, with the intention of crossing the boundary line. Learning that a force of British Loyalists had assembled to resist their advance, they took a different route from the one originally chosen, and proceeded by way of Moore's Corner. The Loyalists, however, had learned the change of plans and laid an ambuscade. About ten o'clock at night the invading party was attacked, and

after a contest lasting twenty minutes, the Canadian rebels were defeated, with a loss of one man killed and several men wounded. The invaders retired across the line toward Swanton.

Great excitement followed this skirmish. Public opinion along the northern border was almost unanimously in favor of the revolting Canadians or Patriots, as they were called, while the Loyalist element in Canada expressed indignation because aid and comfort were given to the rebels by American citizens. Emissaries appeared in various Vermont towns seeking to collect funds to aid the "Patriots." Reports were current that armed British guards had crossed the Vermont border; that threats of court martial had been uttered for acts done and opinions expressed by Vermont citizens; that attempts would be made to kidnap Canadian rebels who had crossed the border for safety; and that threats had been made by Loyalists at St. Armand and Missisquoi Bay to burn the villages of Swanton and St. Albans.

A letter was sent to Governor Jenison, on December 12, signed by President Wheeler, and Professors Joseph Torrey, James Marsh, G. W. Benedict and F. N. Benedict of the University of Vermont, and by Harry and Joseph Bradley, Charles Adams, Luther and Horace Loomis and other prominent citizens of Burlington, protesting against the "evil example and mischievous tendency" of a portion of the press and many citizens in openly taking the part of the Canadians who had revolted against British rule. It appears from this letter that contributions had been solicited in aid of the Canadian

"Patriots," public meetings in their behalf had been held, and it was commonly reported that arms and ammunition had been furnished. Caution was urged in supporting the revolution. The danger of border warfare was pointed out and it was suggested that any interference in Canadian affairs "must inevitably produce serious mischief."

On the following day, December 13, Governor Jenison issued a proclamation calling for the preservation of order on the northern border. He referred to the fact that the United States was at peace with Great Britain, that the furnishing of arms and the organization of hostile forces within the State constituted a breach of neutrality, and cautioned the people of Vermont "against all acts that may subject them to penalties, or in any way compromise the Government."

The letter sent to Governor Jenison by the Burlington citizens mentioned called forth bitter attacks from a portion of the State press. A public meeting was held at the Court House in Burlington, on December 16, and resolutions were adopted expressing sympathy for the Canadian refugees. A largely attended meeting was held at Middlebury, on December 31, which was attended by many of the Canadian "Patriots," including their leader, Papineau, who had found refuge in Albany, N. Y. It was decided again to take the field under experienced officers. A Franklin county meeting, called at St. Albans, on January 5, 1838, to consider the state of the frontier and to petition Congress to repeal the neutrality laws, was attended by two thousand persons. During the progress of this meeting, Gen. Winfield

Scott, who with General Wool and General Brady had been ordered to the frontier by President Van Buren, arrived at St. Albans. A committee waited upon General Scott and invited him to speak. He accepted and urged that the neutrality laws be observed, but the meeting was in no mood for such advice and resolutions were adopted declaring:

"That as friends of human liberty and human rights we cannot restrain the expression of our sympathy when we behold an oppressed and heroic people unfurl the banner of freedom.

"Resolved, That we hope that the time will come when the bayonet shall fail to sustain the last relic of royalty which now lingers on the Western Continent.

"Resolved, That it is the duty of every independent American to aid in every possible manner consistent with our laws, the exertions of the Patriots in Lower Canada against the tyranny, oppression and misrule of a despotic government." Similar meetings were held in Montpelier, Vergennes, Essex, Cambridge, Johnson, Swanton and elsewhere.

Soon after the Middlebury meeting, Papineau learned that the aid he had expected would not be forthcoming, and his activities ceased. General Wool, like General Scott, afterward a prominent commander in the Mexican War, was instructed to act with the Governor of Vermont, and under his direction, in maintaining order on the frontier. Dr. Robert Nelson, who had been making his headquarters in St. Albans and Swanton, succeeded Papineau as the leader of the Canadian "Patriots" in Vermont. Meanwhile the authorities had

been vigilant. A company of volunteers was raised at Swanton under the direction of General Wool, although there was said to be a tacit understanding that they were not to be actively employed against the Canadians. Troops were sent to Alburg, Highgate and North Troy. Most of the stores gathered for the Canadians were seized and only about one hundred men succeeded in crossing the boundary line into Canada. A strong British force appeared on March 1 and the little band of "Patriots," caught between a body of royal troops on one side and a force of American soldiers on the other, surrender to General Wool. Doctor Nelson and a companion were arrested on a charge of a breach of the neutrality laws. They were tried in the United States Court the following May and were honorably discharged. The result of the trial indicates the force of public opinion at the time.

The disturbances along the frontier continued as late as 1839. Governor Jenison, in his annual message in 1839, referred to the fact that "the alleged cruelty with which the (Canadian) contest had been carried on was made the apology for a system of incendiarism of the most reckless and desperate character, on the frontier between this State and Canada. The design of the perpetrators of those mutual acts of aggression was, evidently, to provoke and exasperate the public mind, and thus bring on a state of feeling between the inhabitants of two countries which would ultimately result in war. The continued succession of these atrocities from December (1838) to April (1839) goes far to show that those engaged in them on both sides of the line, had this

object in view. In the progress of this disgraceful business a number of the unoffending citizens of this State have been subjected to heavy losses by the destruction of their buildings and other property by fire."

Governor Jenison's firm stand for the enforcement of the neutrality laws diminished his popularity for a time, although it did not defeat him. That this condition of affairs did not surprise the Governor is shown in his message to the Legislature of 1838. While asserting that he had endeavored to perform his duty, he said: "Men of the best feelings and much moral worth participated largely in their sympathies with those whom they deem oppressed. This state of things was to be expected. Our institutions, habits and education lead to that result." To this he added the statement that "under this excited state of public feeling many who were entrusted with the discharge of official duties were unjustly traduced."

McMaster, in his "History of the United States," refers to a secret oath bound organization, called the Hunters, with lodges along the border from Vermont to Michigan, the members of which were pledged to "combat and help to destroy every power of royal origin on our continent, and never to rest until all British tyrants ceased to have any dominion in North America." An invasion of Canada was planned, but the watchfulness of Government officials prevented the carrying out of the project.

Chapter XXXII

THE GROWING HATRED OF SLAVERY

FOR a quarter of a century preceding the Civil War, the outstanding feature of Vermont's attitude toward the great public issues of that period was a hatred of slavery, which steadily grew more intense. This sentiment was due to no sudden emotion, nor was it the result of agitation. Vermonters followed closely the political developments of the time, and they recognized the danger which threatened the Nation. Individual freedom was one of the fundamental principles of the Green Mountain commonwealth. Vermont had been the first State to forbid slavery in its Constitution. The love of liberty, characteristic of mountain peoples, found a full and free expression among the Green Mountains. The founders of the State were men who had been willing to contend against tremendous odds to secure their just rights, and they were ready to uphold the cause of freedom for the oppressed everywhere.

Vermont was largely an agricultural State and her people owned and cultivated their own small farms. Although there were few radical Abolitionists in Vermont during the late Thirties, the people as a whole were determined in their influence in checking the further extension of slavery wherever and whenever such action was possible.

The attempt made in Congress to prevent the discussion of topics relating to slavery, the action of the House of Representatives in ordering that all petitions and memorials relating to that subject should be laid upon the table without being printed or referred, and the agitation in favor of the annexation of Texas, aroused a strong feeling of resentment throughout the North, and

nowhere was it stronger than in Vermont. When the Legislature convened in 1837, many petitions were received from citizens in all parts of the State asking that body to give voice to their protests against the proposed annexation of Texas. These petitions and protests were referred to a special committee, which made a report, signed by W. W. Ranney and Milton Brown, in which reference was made to the annexation of Louisiana and Florida as an "assumption of power on the part of the Government with which the Constitution did not clothe that body." Attention was called to the fact that Mexico had abolished slavery and that it had been reestablished when Texas set up an independent government. The report continued: "Against every form of oppression the people of Vermont have, at all times, borne honorable testimony. In their Constitution they have published to the world their everlasting opposition to all slavery—even down to the minutest and least revolting of its modifications. It would, then, be inconsistent in Vermont—it would prove that she had somewhat cooled in fervor of her love for liberty—should she consent to be drawn into close and fraternal bonds with a people who, beyond any yet known in modern times, have made the most deliberate and heartless assault on human freedom."

Reference is also made to "fearful sacrifices of important interests by the North, demanded by the South to be offered up for the security of her peculiar institution—the surrender that she asks from us of the freedom of speech—liberty of the press—the right of petition—All these united inspire your Committee with a well founded

apprehension that the additional weight which the annexation of Texas would give to the slaveholding interest in our political organization, would, in all probability, soon lead either to a dissolution of the Union or to the political degradation of the Free States and eventually to the entire overthrow of their common liberties."

Following the presentation of this report the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That representing as we do the people of Vermont, we do hereby, in their name, solemnly protest against such annexation (of Texas) in any form.

"Resolved, That as the representatives of the people of Vermont we do solemnly protest against the admission into the Union of any State whose Constitution tolerates domestic slavery." Vermont Senators and Representatives were asked to use their influence to prevent the annexation of Texas.

As soon as Congress convened in December, 1837, petitions began to pour in praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and opposing the annexation of Texas. Henry Clay opposed the attempt to suppress these petitions, but John C. Calhoun of South Carolina did not favor yielding an inch to "the increasing spirit of fanaticism." Senator Swift presented the memorial and resolutions adopted by the Vermont Legislature relative to slavery and the annexation of Texas on December 18, 1837, and moved that they be printed and laid on the table. The document was read and Senator King of Alabama characterized it as an infamous libel on, and an insult to, the South. As it came from a State he would not have objected to laying it on the table

if it had been couched in proper terms. Senator Swift declared that the petitioners were not the miserable fanatics that the Senator from South Carolina had supposed. Few of them were Abolitionists. They were among the most intelligent and respectable people of their communities. He continued: "Neither was it a question of party in Vermont; but men of all parties were engaged on this subject and on this subject they could unite." He believed that if the petitions could have been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as in former years, the excitement in a great measure would have been allayed.

Senator Calhoun considered the present moment one of the deepest importance. The resolutions were unexpected. He had never heard of their passage, yet he might have anticipated as much. He had long foreseen the present state of things. Vermont had struck a deep and dangerous blow into the vitals of the Confederacy. As he was unprepared to act he would move that the memorial be laid on the table, pledging himself not to oppose the Senator from Vermont if he should see fit to call it up later. Indeed he would be willing to call it up himself after he had had time to prepare for action on the subject. He observed that some persons seemed to prefer the prevalence of this dangerous doctrine to the preservation and continuance of the Union. Senator Roane of Virginia, in the course of the discussion, said: "Let me inform that Senator (Swift) and the whole North that the entire country south of the Potomac, without any regard whatever to party or to anything else, is as firmly united as can possibly be the people of

Vermont, and will boldly face and defy the storm of abolition, come when and where it may."

Senator Prentiss of Vermont ably supported his colleague. The attitude of Congress had increased the number of Abolitionists. To the plain common sense of the people of Vermont the method of procedure was nothing more or less than a refusal to receive petitions. The purpose of the signers was to assert and maintain the right of petition and they would persist in sending petitions to Congress until the right was fully recognized by treating them with the same respect that was accorded to petitions on other subjects.

Senator Clay hoped that Mr. Swift would withdraw the memorial and introduce it later when the Senate was better prepared to act. Senator Swift then withdrew it but gave notice that he would certainly present it again, asserting that no threats from any quarter would prevent him from doing his duty by his constituents. Senator King asked if reference was made to him and Senator Swift replied that while he referred to no member in particular, threats had been made relative to the dissolution of the Union.

Senator Calhoun introduced a series of resolutions on December 21, declaring that the intermeddling of any State or States to abolish slavery, in the District of Columbia, or in any of the Territories, on the ground that the institution was immoral or sinful, would be a dangerous attack upon the institutions of all the slaveholding States. The resolutions also set forth Calhoun's views on the sovereignty of the States. On January 16, 1838, Senator Swift again presented the

Vermont resolutions, which were discussed by Calhoun and both Vermont Senators and were laid on the table. In a letter to relatives Calhoun referred to the Vermont resolutions as "the first move from a State," and "a new and bold step, and from a higher quarter."

Prof. John W. Burgess, in his history, entitled "The Middle Period," referring to the presentation of the Vermont petition by Senator Swift, says: "This shaft had struck Mr. Calhoun in his most vulnerable part. Here was, according to his own doctrine, a 'sovereign State' instructing its governmental agent for general affairs. Could that agent refuse to receive the instructions of one of his principals? There certainly was no precedent for any such procedure as that in any system of jurisprudence known to the world. Mr. Calhoun recognized fully the embarrassment of his position. * * * The Southerners had been thrown into such confusion by the *coup de surprise* sprung upon them by the Vermonters that they had not been able to agree upon any plan for meeting the exigency. Some of them denounced the action of the Vermont Legislature as incendiary, outrageous and degrading. * * * It does seem as if this incident should have taught Mr. Calhoun the fallacy of his logic in insisting upon the power of the Senate to refuse to receive a petition. Here was a case in which his doctrine of parliamentary procedure had absolutely broken down, according to his own acknowledgment. * * * The Southerners were helpless, and had not Mr. Swift himself come to the rescue, no man can say what would have happened."

Vermont's opposition to slavery, at the National Capital, was not confined to the Senate. Few men in public life hated slavery more intensely than did Congressman William Slade. He had been active in the matter of petitions in the session of 1835-36. Professor Burgess has said that "upon him rather than upon Mr. (John Quincy) Adams rests the honor or the blame, whichever it may be, of provoking the excitement over the Abolition petitions, and upholding the right of petition in the most extreme degree." Early in the session of 1837-38 Mr. Slade had presented two memorials from Vermont, praying for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, accompanied by a motion that they should be referred to a special committee. This motion had been laid over and on December 20, 1837, it came up. Mr. Slade read one of the memorials and proceeded to address the House, criticising the course of the members relative to such documents and charged preconcerted action in the attempt invariably made to lay all such motions on the table. Henry A. Wise of Virginia denied the charge. As Mr. Slade proceeded, he was called to order by the chair for discussing the merits of the memorial on a motion to commit. He therefore modified his original motion by adding the words, "with instructions to report a bill abolishing slavery within the District of Columbia." Mr. Legare of South Carolina, with great vehemence, opposed the opening of the slavery controversy, and implored the member from Vermont "solemnly to consider what he was doing." Mr. Dawson of Georgia twice asked for the floor but Mr. Slade refused to yield. He was called

to order several times but Speaker James K. Polk sustained him. He quoted the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of several States, and was about to read a memorial of Benjamin Franklin and an opinion of James Madison on slavery, when objection was made, and the Chair ruled that these papers could not be read without permission. The objection was withdrawn and he proceeded.

Mr. Wise of Virginia, with much warmth, declared: "He has discussed the whole abstract question of slavery, of slavery in Virginia, of slavery in my own district, and I now ask all my colleagues to retire with me from this hall. Mr. Holsey asked the Georgia delegation to take similar action. The Speaker cautioned Mr. Slade that discussion of slavery as it existed within the States, was not in order, and as he was about to read another document he would ask the House to vote on the matter of permitting him to do so.

Much confusion followed. Mr. Rhett of Virginia urged the entire Southern delegation to meet forthwith in the District of Columbia committee room. The Speaker defended his rulings, saying that his own feelings ought easily to be conjectured. He would have restrained the discussion if he could. Mr. Slade informed the House that he desired to read an act of the Continental Congress. Mr. Mackay of North Carolina objected, and there were other objections, and motions to adjourn. The venerable John Quincy Adams demanded the yeas and nays and adjournment was carried, although most of the seats of the members from the South were vacant.

On the following day Mr. Patton of Virginia, chairman of the meeting of Southern members who had withdrawn from the chamber while Mr. Slade held the floor, introduced a resolution providing that all petitions, memorials and papers referring to the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling or transferring of slaves in any State, District or Territory of the United States, be laid on the table "without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." After Mr. Adams had been suppressed in an attempt to discuss the subject the resolution was adopted by a vote of 122 to 74, all the Vermont members voting against it.

Schouler, in his "History of the United States," said of this episode that "in a two hours' speech he (Slade) raked the institution of slavery with a merciless severity such as that Chamber had never, perhaps, experienced before. Wise, Legare, Rhett and the other Southern members were choking with rage." It is worthy of note that several of the Southern leaders who opposed Mr. Slade so violently, like the Vermont Congressman, were members of the Whig party. Professor Burgess has said: "It would not be extravagant to say that the whole course of the internal history of the United States from 1836 to 1861 was more largely determined by the struggle in Congress over the Abolition petitions and the use of the mails for the distribution of the Abolition literature than by anything else." The part taken by Vermont in this great contest through her delegation in Congress was one of much importance and the names of Swift, Slade and others are prominent in the stormy

period when the tide of opposition to slavery was steadily rising.

In January, 1836, Congressman Everett, who was second in rank on the Indian Affairs Committee, and prominent in the discussion of matters relating to the Indians, presented a memorial from the Cherokees of Georgia protesting against the Treaty of 1835, and spoke in favor of the Indian position. During the session Mr. Everett was chosen to fill a vacancy on the important Ways and Means Committee. Senator Prentiss introduced a bill to prohibit duelling in the District of Columbia, probably as a direct result of the duel between Congressmen Cilley of Maine and Graves of Kentucky, which had just been fought, in which the former was killed. The measure was supported by Henry Clay and was passed by a vote of 34 to 1.

Governor Jenison was reelected in 1838, receiving 24,738 votes. The Democratic candidate, William C. Bradley, received 19,194 votes and 37 scattering ballots were cast. The Whig majority in the House was increased from thirty in 1837 to eighty-three. The political division of the Senate remained unchanged from the previous year, twenty Whigs and ten Democrats. Congressmen Everett, Hall and Slade (Whigs) were reelected by large majorities. The Anti-Masonic-Democratic coalition in northeastern Vermont was able to reelect Congressman Isaac Fletcher by a little less than four hundred majority. There was no choice in Congressman Heman Allen's district but John Smith of St. Albans lacked only fifteen votes of an election. Another Whig candidate, William P. Briggs, drew a few

votes from Mr. Allen. Smith led in a second election and later he was chosen Congressman. John Smith was born in Barre, Mass., August 12,1789. The family moved to St. Albans in 1800, where Mr. Smith studied law with Roswell Hutchins, his brother-in-law, and later with Benjamin Swift. He was admitted to the bar in 1810 and formed a partnership with Mr. Swift, which continued until the latter was elected to Congress. He represented St. Albans in the Legislature from 1827 to 1833, and again from 1835 to 1837, inclusive, serving as Speaker in 1831, 1832 and 1833. He was State's Attorney of Franklin county from 1826 to 1833. He served one term in Congress. He was very active in the first railroad development in Vermont, and to his energy and sagacity was due, to a considerable extent, the building of the Vermont & Canada Railroad and the establishment of a connecting link between northern New England and the Great Lakes region. John Smith was one of the leading Vermonters of his time and his family has been one of the most prominent in the history of the Commonwealth. Gov. John Gregory Smith and Congressman Worthington C. Smith were his sons. He died at St. Albans, November 20, 1858.

During the legislative session of 1838, Samuel Shethar Phelps of Middlebury was elected United States Senator on the sixteenth ballot, to succeed Benjamin Swift. The vote in the House was: Phelps, 107; Heman Allen, 20; Daniel Kellogg of Brattleboro (Dem.), 76. In the Senate Phelps received 14 votes, 12 being divided among other candidates. Samuel S. Phelps was born in Litchfield, Conn., the birthplace of Ethan Allen and other famous

men, on May 13, 1793. He entered Yale College at the age of fourteen, graduating in 1811, when only eighteen years old. He studied law for a year and in 1812 came to Middlebury, where he entered the office of Horatio Seymour, also a native of Litchfield, Conn., who was to precede him in the United States Senate. Mr. Phelps served as a common soldier during the War of 1812, at Burlington and at Plattsburg, N. Y., and later was appointed a Paymaster in the army. He was admitted to the Addison county bar in 1814 and began the practice of law at Middlebury, achieving a high reputation in his profession. He was a member of the Council of Censors in 1827, and wrote the address to the people of the State, in which the establishment of a Senate was recommended. He was elected a member of the Executive Council in 1831 and the same year was chosen a Judge of the Supreme Court, holding that position until he was elected United States Senator. He served two terms in the Senate, from 1839 to 1851, and in 1853 was appointed to fill a vacancy in that body. His eldest son was Edward J. Phelps, well known as a lawyer and diplomat. Senator Phelps died at Middlebury, March 25, 1855, in his sixty-second year.

Solomon Foot of Rutland was reelected Speaker of the House. In his message to the Legislature Governor Jenison alluded to the remarkable improvement in business affairs and referred to disturbances caused by the Canadian rebellion. He called attention to the possible danger arising from the activity of demagogues who, "under the pretence of sympathy, may urge for participation in our elective privileges, those who have sought

Senator Jacob Collamer

an asylum among us, before they shall be qualified, either by length of residence or attachment to our institutions, to exercise that sacred right."

During the session imprisonment for debt was abolished and the act providing for a Surveyor General and county surveyors was repealed. The State Treasurer was authorized to pay a bounty of twenty cents for each pound of the cocoons of the silk worm grown within the State, twenty cents for each pound of raw silk reeled from such cocoons, and twenty cents for every pound of sewing silk manufactured within the State. Five mutual fire insurance companies, the Vermont Copperas Company and the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society were incorporated. A charter was granted to the Lake Champlain and Otter Creek Railroad Company, with a capital stock of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the road to extend from Brandon to Lake Champlain, with a connecting line to Middlebury.

The "gag rule" of the National House of Representatives, forbidding the reading, printing or debating of all petitions or memorials relating to slavery, was declared to be "a daring infringement of the right of the people to petition, and a flagrant violation of the Constitution of the United States." The resolution continued as follows: "And we do, in the name of the people of Vermont, protest against the passage of the same, or any similar resolution by the present or any future Congress of the United States." Members of Congress were asked to use their efforts "to procure from the United States a grant of a tract of land for each of the colleges in this State."

In the matter of committee assignments in Congress, Senator Prentiss was second on Pensions and a member of the Public Lands Committee. Senator Swift was second on Militia and a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs. In the House, Everett was second on Indian Affairs; Allen was on Invalid Pensions and chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department; and Fletcher was chairman of the Committee on Patents.

Early in January, 1839, Senator Prentiss presented resolutions from the Vermont Legislature opposing the annexation of Texas, favoring the abolition of slavery and the slave trade between the States and Territories, and protesting against the infringement of the right of petition in the House of Representatives. He presented these as resolutions of instruction from a State and moved that they be laid on the table and printed. The motion to lay on the table was carried. In discussing the resolution concerning the right of petition, he warned "the gentlemen of the South that the course which they were pursuing was precisely the course to increase the number and augment the strength of the Abolitionists. * * * The idea of an encroachment on the right of petition had been connected with the great subject of abolition and had communicated to it a power not properly its own; so that those who were opposed to extreme and premature measures, and wished to prevent useless excitement and agitation, found themselves powerless in consequence of this connection. And if this course were persevered in they would be obliged to give way entirely." Senator Calhoun of South Carolina "confessed that he

was amazed to see the Senator from Vermont urging the course which he did; and that there should be any gentleman who could not see that this question was daily alienating one portion of the Union from the other. * * * He was astonished, also, that the Senator should conceive that the best mode for Southern gentlemen was to let the Abolitionists come here and agitate. * * * The Senator's view on this subject was one of the most striking facts to illustrate the truth that when a popular excitement was got up, the strongest minds gave way. The only way was to put a stop to the whole."

Senator King of Alabama, President Pro Tem of the Senate, opposed the printing of the resolutions, saying: "The honorable Senator who presented them knew full well that if Congress, by any possibility, could be induced to act upon them at that moment the Union would be at an end." In that event he "would at once return to his constituents and tell them that the Constitution had been violated in a vital point." The motion to print was laid on the table by a vote of 29 to 8. In addition to the Vermont Senators, those who voted to print were Davis of Massachusetts, King and Robbins of Rhode Island, McKean of Pennsylvania, Morris of Ohio and Smith of Indiana.

In May, 1839, Cornelius P. Van Ness returned from Spain. On Tuesday evening, August 6, Henry Clay arrived at Burlington on the Whitehall steamboat and was given an enthusiastic reception. He was escorted to Howard's Hotel by a procession of citizens, headed by the Woodstock band. He was introduced to the

people by Charles Adams and spoke briefly. On the following day he attended the Commencement exercises of the University of Vermont, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He dined with the University Corporation, met a large number of people, and attended a crowded levee at the home of Samuel Hickok, leaving Burlington at ten o'clock in the evening for Ticonderoga.

Governor Jenison was renominated at Woodstock, June 27, 1839, at what was termed a Democratic-Whig Convention. That designation was used for several years by the Whig party. This was said at the time to have been the most largely attended political convention ever assembled in Vermont. Ezra Meech, for several years the Democratic candidate for Governor, was a delegate to the convention, and appears thereafter as a Whig. George T. Hodges of Rutland and David M. Camp of Derby were elected delegates-at-large to the Whig National Convention. The Democratic candidate for Governor was Nathan Smilie of Cambridge and the party slogan was "Smilie and bank reform." The Democrats made a gain of about three thousand votes, Governor Jenison being reelected by a majority of 2,320. The vote was: Jenison, 24,611; Smilie, 22,257; scattering, 34. The Whigs had a majority of six in the Senate and eight in the House. Carlos Coolidge of Windsor was elected Speaker over Paul Dillingham, Jr., of Waterbury by a vote of 116 to 109.

In his message to the Legislature, Governor Jenison advocated the establishment of normal or pattern schools. Notwithstanding the cry of monopoly raised

against the banks, rightly managed he considered them indispensable. He stated that on three occasions General Nason had considered it necessary to call out portions of the State militia to protect property on the frontier, endangered by the Canadian contest. In February the State troops were relieved at the Governor's request and were replaced by the United States troops under control of General Scott. He referred to the arrest in Burlington of a man charged with an atrocious murder in Canada. A demand was made upon the President for his surrender, but he declined to interfere. Application being made upon the Governor of Vermont by the Governor of Canada, the prisoner was ordered to be delivered to the Canadian officers in accordance with an established custom, but execution of the order was prevented by a writ of habeas corpus issued by the Supreme Court of Vermont.

Much of the legislative session was devoted to a revision of the Statutes. A resolution was adopted by the Legislature, calling upon Congress for the passage of a law providing a just distribution among the several States of the proceeds of the public lands. Another resolution called for the refunding to Vermont of her proportion of the money expended for internal improvements, the assertion being made that the State had not derived an equivalent from the expenditure of such appropriations.

The condition of the banks on September 30, 1839, showed a circulation of $1,956,112; loans of $3,041,502; deposits of $209,410; and funds in New York and Boston banks amounting to $585,256.

The National Whig Convention assembled at Harrisburg, Pa., December 4, 1839. The Vermont delegates were George T. Hodges of Rutland, David M. Camp of Derby, William P. Briggs of Richmond, Charles Paine of Northfield, William Henry of Rockingham, A. B. W. Tenney of Newbury and Samuel H. Holley of Bristol. Mr. Tenney served as alternate for Andrew Tracy of Woodstock. On the first four ballots Vermont's seven votes were cast for Gen. Winfield Scott, but on the fifth ballot Vermont, New York, Illinois and Michigan voted for Gen. William Henry Harrison of Ohio, who was nominated as the Whig candidate for President, with John Tyler of Virginia as the candidate for Vice President.

On the second day of May, immediately following the nomination of Harrison and Tyler, a National Convention of Whig young men was held at Baltimore. The Vermont delegates were Bailey Bartlett, O. P. Chandler, D. W. C. Clarke, John A. Conant, Cephas Field, Timothy Follett, G. W. Grandey, G. G. Hall, M. D. Hall, Charles Hopkins, L. S. Lovell, A. L. Miner, Z. Newell, A. H. Partridge, George H. Peck, David Read, Harry Vail, E. P. Walton, Jr., and George P. Walton. A feature of the convention was a grand national procession of the States. The Vermont delegation carried a banner bearing the words, "The Green Mountain Boys will do their own voting and their own fighting."

The Vermont delegates to the Democratic National Convention, which met at Baltimore, while the Whigs were in session, were Cornelius P. Van Ness, William

C. Bradley, Lucius Peck, E. B. Chase and Isaac McDonalds. Ex-Governor Van Ness was one of the six vice presidents of the convention. President Van Buren was renominated without opposition.

Early in the year, town and county Harrison and Tyler meetings were held in various parts of the State, which were attended by large and enthusiastic audiences. One of the favorite slogans was "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," referring to General Harrison's victory over the Indians in the battle of Tippecanoe. The political campaign of 1840 in Vermont probably was the most spectacular ever waged in the State, and this may be true also concerning the campaign throughout the United States. The Democratic party had been in power for a long time. The panic of 1837 had caused dissatisfaction with the administration. President Van Buren was a skilful politician, but he lacked the qualities which made Andrew Jackson popular with the people. His opponents charged that he had made the White House a palace and provided a gold table service. It was alleged that Harrison had been criticised for his humble origin, the charge being made that he had lived in a log cabin, where the common beverage was hard cider. All these elements combined to give the Whigs the opportunity to make their candidates extremely popular with the rank and file of the voters. A great feature of political gatherings was a log cabin containing a barrel of cider.

The Whig State Convention held at Burlington, June 25, which renominated all the State officers, was declared by the *New York Star* and the *Burlington Free Press* to have been the greatest assemblage of freemen

ever held in New England. The attendance was estimated at numbers ranging from fifteen thousand to twenty-five thousand. Mounted men, banners and log cabins were features of a great parade. Solomon Foot of Rutland presided and the crowd stood for more than four hours to listen to speeches, delivered by Messrs. Adams of Burlington, Upham of Montpelier, Culver of Washington County, N. Y., and General Wilson of New Hampshire. At a meeting held at Northfield the venerable Elijah Paine, United States District Judge, while declining to make a political speech, gave some personal reminiscences of General Harrison, whom he had known in Congress forty years before, when Harrison was a very young man. He considered him a prudent man, of good judgment, pure motives and high character.

The feature of this notable campaign which has been remembered longer than any other, is the Bennington and Windham county convention, held on Stratton Mountain, July 8, which renominated Congressman Hiland Hall. Of the location *Niles' Register* said: "The place selected was a clearing of about three hundred acres in the midst of a magnificent amphitheatre of hills, of at least five miles in diameter. From the verge of the clearing to the summit of the mountains there was a deep and unbroken fringe of foliage which added greatly to the beauty of the scene. It was far from the haunts of men, scarcely a house being visible." The attendance has been estimated at various numbers from ten thousand to fifteen thousand. It was said at the time that six thousand persons passed the Arlington turnpike gate, and that the attendance from the east

surpassed that from the west side of the mountains. The location was chosen to accommodate people from the two counties. The noteworthy feature of the great gathering was the fact that at that time there were no railroads. All travel was by horse-drawn vehicles or on foot.

The convention organized early on Tuesday afternoon by the choice of Doctor Ramsey of Townshend as chairman. At that time a great throng was pouring in from all quarters. Many of the delegations were headed by bands of music and carried banners. About two o'clock Daniel Webster arrived in a barouche, drawn by four black horses, preceded by a committee of arrangements from Brattleboro, and accompanied by a delegation from Franklin county, Mass. The first speaker was Congressman Hiland Hall, and he was followed by Mr. Webster, who began his address with the words, "Fellow Citizens, I have come to meet you among the clouds." The correspondent of *Niles' Register* said the Massachusetts statesman made "a calm yet highly impressive statement of our national affairs. Those who heard it will not soon forget either Mount Stratton or the great defender of the Constitution, expounding the true intent and meaning of that instrument upon its summit. It was received with great applause." It is not strictly true that the place of meeting was on the summit of Stratton Mountain, but for rhetorical effect the statement is permissible. Other speakers were Messrs. Chapman and Wells of Massachusetts, Mr. Blackmore of Vermont (possibly Green Blackmer of Bennington), A. L. Miner of Manchester and Samuel Elliott of Brattleboro.

Owing to the distance of the place of meeting from any large village, it was necessary to remain over night, and each delegation, as it arrived, selected a convenient camp site in the forest surrounding the open field. Tents and rations for three days were brought. To quote again from *Niles' Register*, the correspondent wrote: "The most striking part of the affair to me was the effect of the encampment at night. Mr. Webster declared his determination to encamp with the Green Mountain Boys on the summit of their far famed hills, and, of course, the declaration was received with great pleasure. And very soon large numbers erected wigwams in the contiguous forest, and blazing fires were kindled in every direction." One can readily imagine that scene, the remote mountain side illuminated with camp-fires, and vocal with the songs and cheers of thousands of enthusiastic partisans, the central figure being Daniel Webster, America's greatest orator and statesman.

Mr. Webster arrived at Bellows Falls on Wednesday, July 9, and spoke for an hour from the balcony of the principal hotel to a large audience. On July 4, Whig meetings were held, the attendance at Vergennes being estimated at five thousand, and at Windsor, at twelve thousand. A Whig convention was held at Bennington on August 16, the sixty-second anniversary of the battle fought near that place. Lewis Hurd, a veteran of that engagement, was present. The attendance is said to have been more than ten thousand and a feature was a procession several miles in length. The well known tendency to overestimate the attendance at public gatherings, particularly at political meetings, where the num-

bers present may be considered an asset, should be borne in mind. Allowing for probable exaggeration in the figures reported, it still holds true that the Whigs were an enthusiastic, aggressive party in 1840.

About two hundred Vermont delegates attended what was known as the Bunker Hill Convention, a great Whig meeting held in Boston on September 10. A parade was a feature and the Vermont badge was a sprig of evergreen. Daniel Webster presided, William Upham of Montpelier was one of the vice presidents and Senator Phelps of Vermont was one of the speakers.

The Democrats at the time were called Locofocos by their opponents. C. P. Van Ness headed the Democratic electoral ticket and appeared on the stump for his party.

Governor Jenison was reelected by a majority of 10,753, a gain of more than eight thousand over the vote of the previous year. The official returns were: Silas H. Jenison, 33,435; Paul Dillingham, Jr., 22,637; scattering, 45. Only two counties, Lamoille and Washington, gave Democratic majorities and these were small and greatly reduced over those of the previous year, when that party carried six counties. In the State Senate the Whigs had twenty-eight, and the Democrats two votes. The political division in the House was, Whigs, 178; Democrats, 59. This represented a Whig gain of ten in the Senate and sixty-three in the House. The popular vote, compared with that of 1839, showed a Whig gain of nearly 9,000 and a Democratic gain of 793. A great reserve vote was brought out and the total number of ballots cast for Governor was not equalled until twenty-eight years later, in 1868.

While General Harrison was addressing a great audience at Dayton, Ohio, a letter arrived, bringing the news of the unusually large Whig majority in the Vermont State election. This letter was read to the people assembled and aroused much enthusiasm.

The great Whig victory brought with it the election of all of the five Congressmen. Messrs. Everett, Hall and Slade were reelected. In the fourth district, Augustus Young defeated John Smith by 1,303 majority and in the fifth district John Mattocks won over Isaac Fletcher, the majority being 124. Mr. Mattocks had previously served two terms in Congress.

Augustus Young was born in Arlington, March 20, 1785. He studied law at Stowe, but removed to Craftsbury in 1812. He represented that town in the Legislature in 1821-24, 1826, 1828-30 and in 1832. He served three terms in the Senate, 1836-38; was State's Attorney of Orleans county, 1824-25; and served as Judge of Probate, 1830-31. After one term in Congress he declined a reelection, resuming the practice of law. He removed to St. Albans in 1847 and was Assistant Judge of Franklin County Court from 1851 to 1855. He devoted much time to literary and scientific pursuits. His death occurred at St. Albans, June 17, 1857.

The election in November was even more emphatic than that of September, for every county in the State was carried by the Whigs. Harrison's majority in the State was 14,111. Van Buren carried only seven States, Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Missouri, New Hampshire, South Carolina and Virginia. Harrison received 234 electoral votes, and 60 were cast for Van Buren.

The Vermont vote by counties, cast for Harrison (Whig), Van Buren (Dem.) and Birney (Liberty or Anti-Slavery), was as follows:

	Harrison	*Van Buren*	*Birney*
Addison	2,806	916	26
Bennington	1,796	1,423	30
Caledonia	2,025	1,713	...
Chittenden	2,286	1,381	18
Essex	448	303	...
Franklin	2,186	1,191	39
Grand Isle	363	162	...
Lamoille	907	888	12
Orange	2,874	2,216	72
Orleans	1,294	745	17
Rutland	4,114	1,551	10
Washington	2,057	1,984	65
Windham	3,472	1,715	18
Windsor	5,817	1,821	12
Total	32,445	18,009	319

Vermont gave the largest majority for the Whig ticket in proportion to the number of votes cast, of any State in the Union. The contest for this honor was exceedingly close between Kentucky and Vermont, and the *Louisville Journal* said if Vermont had cast eighteen fewer votes for Harrison the honor would have gone to Kentucky.

The Vermont Presidential Electors, chosen in 1840, were Samuel C. Crafts of Craftsbury, John Conant of Brandon, Ezra Meech of Shelburne, Abner B. W. Tenney

of Newbury, William Henry of Rockingham, William P. Briggs of Richmond and Joseph Reed of Montpelier.

In his annual message in 1840, Governor Jenison referred to the Presidential contest in terms which left nobody in doubt that he was an ardent Whig. He replied to attacks made upon the banks, recounting the benefit which they had rendered, although he conceded that banks had been chartered "with too great facility and upon improper principles in some sections of the Union, perhaps to some extent in this State." He announced that he did not desire again to be a candidate for Governor.

The Legislature of 1840 passed a general banking act. As an evidence of opposition to the return of fugitive slaves, a law was enacted providing that certain fugitives from service or labor were entitled to a jury trial to determine their identity, the facts concerning their alleged escape, and to substantiate any claim to service. A bounty of twenty cents on every pound of woven silk manufactured in the State from cocoons grown therein, was granted. The sum of $436.61 was appropriated for paying the militia called out by order of the Governor of the State, February 28, 1838, for the protection of the northern frontier, on application of Brig. Gen. John E. Wool of the United States Army.

A resolution was adopted, asking the Vermont Senators and Congressmen to endeavor to procure the submission of an amendment to the United States Constitution, restricting the eligibility of the President to a single term. Another resolution adopted declared that the tariff act of 1833 "is altogether insufficient to protect the

products of our agriculture and manufactures against foreign competition."

The census of 1840 gave Vermont a population of 291,998, a gain over 1830 of 11,296, or 4 per cent. This was the smallest increase Vermont had shown during any census period since the admission of the State to the Union. The population by counties was as follows:

Addison	23,583
Bennington	16,872
Caledonia	21,891
Chittenden	22,977
Essex	4,226
Franklin	24,531
Grand Isle	3,883
Lamoille	10,475
Orange	27,873
Orleans	13,634
Rutland	30,699
Washington	23,506
Windham	27,442
Windsor	40,356

Small losses were shown in Addison, Bennington, Orleans, Rutland, Windham and Windsor counties.

There were comparatively heavy losses in certain towns in Addison, Washington, Windham and Windsor counties. Certain towns in Franklin county showed large gains, although the increase for the entire county was very small. Other towns in Chittenden, Lamoille, Orange, Orleans, Washington and Windsor counties made good gains. Brattleboro gained 482; Northfield, 601; Montpelier, 740, and Burlington, 1,045.

The most populous towns were: Burlington, 4,271; Montpelier, 3,725; Bennington, 3,429; Woodstock, 3,315; Middlebury, 3,161; Windsor, 2,744; Rutland, 2,708; St. Albans, 2,702; Randolph, 2,678; Danville, 2,633; Springfield, 2,625; Brattleboro, 2,623; Newbury, 2,579; Fairfield, 2,448; Hartland, 2,341; Rockingham, 2,330; Swanton, 2,313; Chester, 2,305; Highgate, 2,292; Norwich, 2,218; Brandon, 2,194; Hartford, 2,194; Milton, 2,136; Barre, 2,126; Georgia, 2,106; Thetford, 2,065; Barnet, 2,030; Enosburg, 2,022; Northfield, 2,013; Weathersfield, 2,002.

The males exceeded the females by about 1,500. The population included 730 free colored persons. There were in the State 1,320 pensioners of the Revolutionary War and twenty persons one hundred years old and upwards. The number of persons engaged in various occupations were returned as follows: Agriculture, 73,150; manufacture and trade, 13,174; learned professions and engineers, 1,563; commerce, 1,303; navigation on canals, lakes and rivers, 146; mining, 77. Some of the principal agricultural statistics of 1840 showing production were as follows: Corn, 1,119,678 bu.; wheat, 495,800 bu.; oats, 2,222,584 bu.; barley, 54,781 bu.; rye, 230,993 bu.; buckwheat, 228,416 bu.; potatoes, 8,869,451 bu.; hay, 836,739 tons; hops, 48,137 lbs.; flax and hemp, 69,000 lbs.; tobacco, 585 lbs.; maple sugar, 4,647,934 lbs.; silk in cocoons, 4,286 lbs.; dairy products, value, $2,008,737; horses and mules, 62,402; neat cattle, 384,341; swine, 203,800; poultry, value, $131,578; sheep 1,681,819; wool, 3,699,235 lbs.

Vermont ranked second among the States in the production of wool and hops; third in maple sugar; fourth in number of sheep, silk cocoons, dairy products, hay and potatoes.

The total value of Vermont manufactures in 1840 was $6,923,982. There were 334 factories engaged in the manufacture of woolen goods, of which 239 were fulling mills, the others being woolen factories, and the value of their product was $1,331,953. The capital invested was $1,406,950 and the average number of wage earners was 1,450. The seven cotton mills reported 7,254 spindles, employed 241 workmen, and manufactured goods valued at $113,000. The capital invested was $202,500. There were in the State 261 tanneries; 17 paper mills, the product being valued at $214,720; 321 grist mills, 1,081 sawmills and 20 oil mills, the combined value of their output being $1,083,124; 26 furnaces and 14 forges, producing pig iron valued at $42,575, and iron castings worth $24,900; eight potteries, producing goods valued at $23,000; two glass factories with an output amounting to $55,000; furniture valued at $83,275; one brewery making 12,800 gallons; two distilleries, making 3,500 gallons; carriages worth $162,097; granite and marble products valued at $62,515; machinery, worth $101,354; bricks and lime valued at $402,218.

Nearly 10 per cent of Vermont's manufactured goods were produced in families, the value of this output being $674,548. At this time 6 per cent of the manufactured products of the United States was made in the homes. The mills and factories were small and many little water

powers were utilized, traces of which in later years were seem in old dams and decaying water wheels.

In 1840 Addison county is said to have contained a greater number of sheep than any other county in the United States, and to have led all other counties in wool production. The census of 1840 showed that there were in the town of Shoreham 41,188 sheep, which produced 95,276 pounds of wool. This was an average a little in excess of one and five-eighths sheep for each acre of land, improved and unimproved, and more than twenty-four sheep for each inhabitant. This was the largest wool growing town in Vermont, and probably the largest in the United States at that time. The average weight of a Shoreham fleece of wool in 1840 was a little more than two pounds and five ounces; and in 1850 it was slightly in excess of three pounds and five ounces. Some of the best graded flocks sheared an average of five pounds each, and some pure blooded Spanish Merinos produced more than six pounds each of washed wool. At one time, with favorable tariff rates, wool sold at prices varying from fifty to seventy-five cents per pound and wealth increased rapidly. Late in 1839 and 1840 prices fell and those who were in debt for land or flocks suffered severely. It is said that the wool industry of Addison county never fully recovered from this period of depression.

At this time there were in Vermont 2,300 district schools and 106,000 children between the ages of four and twelve years. The aggregate expenses for schools was $292,730 for the year, or $127 for each district.

The Congressional apportionment, based on the census of 1840, reduced the number of Vermont Representatives from five to four. In the organization of Congressional committees Senator Prentiss was made chairman of the Committee on Patents and a member of Public Lands and the Judiciary. Senator Phelps was chairman of the Committee on Militia and a member of Indian Affairs. In the House, Mr. Hall was chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. Mr. Everett was second on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mattocks was assigned to Agriculture and Mr. Young to Public Buildings and Grounds. Mr. Everett was a very active member of the House, being prominent in debate, skilful in parliamentary procedure and apparently one of the leading members of the House. Thurlow Weed in one of his letters includes the name of Horace Everett among the ablest members who served when Congress, in his opinion, was at its best.

A special session of Congress was called by President Harrison but he died just one month after his inauguration. Congressman Hiland Hall represented Vermont as one of the pall bearers at the President's funeral.

At the opening of the special session Mr. Slade was active in attempting to revise the rules in such a manner that the right of petition might be preserved. He said: "Those must know very little of the nature of abolition excitement who think to stop or retard it by denying the right of petition, and forbidding discussion in this hall. They ought to know that if obstructed in one channel it will find another. The stream will roll on, obstruct it who will." Calling attention to a third party already in

existence, he declared: "That party has been forced in being by the gag resolutions and rules which have been adopted here, and by kindred measures in favor of slavery elsewhere. * * * The great question of slavery will have to be met in some form sooner or later, and that not merely as a question of philanthropy and human rights, but as one intimately connected with the finances of the country, affected as they are, and ever must be, by the antagonistic influences of free and slave labor."

Early in the year 1841 Stephen Haight of Monkton, Sergeant-at-Arms of the United States Senate, died at Washington. He had been active in political affairs in Vermont, first as a Federalist, and later as a Democrat.

The candidates for Governor in 1841 were Charles Paine of Northfield (Whig), Nathan Smilie of Cambridge (Dem.), and Titus Hutchinson of Woodstock (Anti-Slavery). The appearance of former Chief Justice Hutchinson as a candidate marks the beginning of the Anti-Slavery party, which figured in Vermont elections, most of the time as a separate organization, until the rise of the Republican party. The vote was as follows: Paine, 23,353; Smilie, 21,302; Hutchinson, 3,039; scattering, 248. As no candidate had a majority, the Legislature in joint assembly elected the Whig candidate, Charles Paine, as Governor, and the House re-elected Carlos Coolidge as Speaker.

Charles Paine was born in Williamstown, April 15, 1799, being the son of Judge Elijah Paine, one of the most eminent citizens of Vermont. He was graduated from Harvard College at the age of twenty-one years.

He removed to Northfield and represented that town in the Legislatures of 1828 and 1829. In 1835 a considerable number of Whig votes were cast for him for Governor, during the latter part of the Anti-Masonic period. He was interested in agriculture and the breeding of high grade cattle, but he was best known as one of the leaders in the building of the Vermont Central Railroad and the first president of the corporation. He conducted a large hotel at Northfield and was interested in various business enterprises. He died at Waco, Texas, July 6, 1853, where he had gone to supervise the surveying of a route for a railroad to the Pacific coast.

In his message to the General Assembly, Governor Paine protested against the abandonment of the protective tariff policy "because a single Southern State, denying the constitutionality of such legislation, threatened violently to resist the execution of these laws. * * * It would be superfluous," he adds, "to attempt to show that a protective tariff is essential to the prosperity of this portion of the Union. The value of our agricultural products, and especially wool, depends entirely upon the success of our manufactures, and every farmer in Vermont is deeply interested in saving them from the ruin which, it is feared, is impending over them." He protested against the veto power, which President Tyler had wielded in a manner that exasperated the Whig party which had elected him Vice President, saying: "The early settlers of Vermont were too jealous of liberty to allow such a power any place in our Constitution." He regarded the veto as "the only monarchial feature in our form of government," and suggested the propriety of

proposing an amendment to the Constitution, rendering the President ineligible for reelection, and restricting his power of removal from office and his use of the veto. He referred to the importance of education and the need of a geological survey, the latter proposal having been recommended by some of his predecessors.

The Legislature adopted a resolution favoring a national law, designating one day on which all Presidential Electors should be chosen. Under the census of 1840, State Senators were apportioned as follows: Addison, 2; Bennington, 2; Caledonia, 2; Chittenden, 2; Essex, 1; Franklin, 3; Grand Isle, 1; Lamoille, 1; Orange, 3; Orleans, 1; Rutland, 3; Washington, 2; Windham, 3; Windsor, 4.

The tariff law was declared "highly defective and insufficient," and it was "Resolved, That we regard the right to enjoy the products of our soil and labor as sacred and valuable as the right to the soil itself; and that it is equally the duty of our Government to prosecute the settlement of the Northeastern boundary question without any unnecessary delay," adding, "That while we deprecate a war with Great Britain as a great national evil, and to be resorted to only in case of stern necessity, and while we recommend to the Government of the United States a conciliatory yet firm and decided course on the subject, yet if such course fail, we pledge ourselves to sustain the authorities of the Union in maintaining their rights, with all the resources in our power."

Another resolution favored the repeal of all laws authorizing slavery in the District of Columbia. The

Representatives and Senators were asked "to use their utmost endeavor to prevent the adoption of any rule, order, resolution or usage limiting or impairing the constitutional right of the people to petition Congress for the redress of grievances." It was also "Resolved, That no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, the constitution of which authorizes domestic slavery."

The members of the ninth Council of Censors were Joseph D. Farnsworth of Fairfax, Peter Starr of Middlebury, John A. Pratt of Woodstock, Wallis Mott of South Hero, Austin Birchard of Newfane, Martin C. Deming of Arlington, Gordon Newell of Pittsford, Luther Carpenter of Orange, Heman Allen of Burlington, Alvah R. French of Craftsbury, Ephraim Paddock of St. Johnsbury, David Hibbard, Jr., of Concord, and Hezekiah H. Reed of Montpelier. Three sessions were held, two in Montpelier and one in Burlington. Seven amendments were proposed and a Constitutional Convention was called, which met in Montpelier January 7, 1843. The proposals of amendment included the following: Fixing the annual State election on the second Tuesday of October; providing that the State and county officers should remain in office until their successors were elected and had qualified; fixing the term of State Senators at three years, one-third to be elected each year, and giving the Governor power to make temporary appointments; electing Sheriffs, High Bailiffs and Justices of the Peace by popular vote; making the term of the Supreme Court Judges seven years, and providing for their removal by impeachment, or by joint resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of each House; pro-

viding for a referendum on constitutional amendments. All of these proposals were defeated, most of them by large majorities. The amendment proposing the election of Justices of the Peace by the freemen failed by a vote of 105 to 117, but this was the only proposal rejected by a narrow margin.

A few weeks before his death, which occurred April 28, 1842, the venerable Elijah Paine of Williamstown resigned the United States Judgeship for the District of Vermont, which office he had held forty-one years, having been appointed by President John Adams. The vacancy on the bench again was filled from the United States Senate, President Tyler appointing Senator Samuel Prentiss of Montpelier, a man eminently qualified for the position. Senator Prentiss resigned his seat on April 11, 1842, and it fell to the lot of Judge Paine's son to appoint a Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of his father's successor. It is reported on newspaper authority that Governor Paine tendered the appointment to William Jarvis of Weathersfield, one of the early champions of a protective tariff and a long time Whig leader in Vermont. Mr. Jarvis declined, it is said, because he feared his health would not permit him to render the service he felt his constituents should receive. The appointment was then offered to and accepted by Ex-Gov. Samuel C. Crafts of Craftsbury, who had served in the House of Representatives, and later was elected to fill the unexpired portion of Senator Prentiss' term.

Slavery continued to be the most disturbing topic of public discussion. On January 20, 1842, Congress-

man Mattocks of Vermont remarked that he held in his hand petitions from a great number of the most respectable freeholders and legal voters in his State relating to the subject of abolition, "which, if this were Liberty Hall, he should present, but as it was Slavery Hall, he should forebear." In a discussion of the diplomatic bill, on April 14, as it related to Mexico, Mr. Slade expressed the opinion that the American people never could be drawn into any such measure as the annexation of Texas, adding: "It would be utter ruin to the Union of States." He would not "give the snap of his fingers for this Union from the day such a measure was effected. It would be dissolved *ipso facto* from that moment." This is an example of the extreme position taken by some of the most ardent anti-slavery men.

The Whig State Convention of 1842 renominated Governor Paine over Judge Williams and Congressman Slade, and condemned the course pursued by President Tyler in vetoing measures indorsed by the party which nominated him. At the Vermont Abolition Convention, held June 1, five counties were represented. Chief Justice Charles K. Williams of Rutland was nominated for Governor, and E. D. Barber of Middlebury, for Lieutenant Governor. Nathan Smilie of Cambridge again was the Democratic candidate. Governor Paine was reelected by a small majority of the popular vote, which was as follows: Paine, 27,167; Smilie, 24,130; Williams, 2,093; scattering, 35. The counties of Bennington, Caledonia, Lamoille, Orange and Washington, gave Democratic majorities in 1842, as they did in 1841. The party division in the Senate was sixteen Whigs and

fourteen Democrats; in the House, one hundred and twenty-nine Whigs and one hundred and one Democrats. Andrew Tracy of Woodstock, a Whig, was elected Speaker. Although Whig Governors were chosen year after year, the margin usually was sufficiently close to encourage the opposition to make a stiff fight.

Solomon Foot of Rutland (Whig) was elected member of Congress for the First district by about 1,200 majority over C. B. Harrington of Rutland (Dem.). There was no election in the Second district, Jacob Collamer of Woodstock lacking 271 votes of a majority over Gen. Truman B. Ransom of Norwich (Dem). At a second election, held November 13, Mr. Collamer was elected by about five hundred majority. In the Third district, George P. Marsh of Burlington (Whig) was elected over John Smith of St. Albans, (Dem.) by 808 majority. In the Fourth district, Paul Dillingham, Jr., of Waterbury (Dem.) was elected over George B. Chandler of Danville (Whig) by 286 majority. The Fourth district contained the strong Democratic county of Washington, and for a considerable period generally elected a Democratic Congressman, when the State at large and the other Congressional districts showed Whig pluralities or majorities. Thus an entirely new delegation was sent to Congress.

Solomon Foot was born in Cornwall, Vt., November 19, 1802. Left an orphan at the age of nine years, he made his own way in the world. Securing some education he taught district schools, fitted for college and graduated from Middlebury in the class of 1826. He was a tutor at Middlebury College for four years, was

preceptor of Castleton Academy and professor of natural philosophy at the Vermont Medical School at Castleton. While teaching, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1831, opening an office at Rutland. He represented Rutland in the Legislature in 1833, 1836-38 and 1847, and was Speaker of the House in 1837, 1838 and 1847. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1836 and State's Attorney of Rutland county from 1836 to 1842. He served two terms in Congress, declining to be a candidate for a third term. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Clerk of the National House of Representatives in 1849. In 1850 he was elected United States Senator as a Whig, and with the rise of the Republican party he joined that political organization. He succeeded in securing the erection of a custom house at Burlington and buildings for the United States Court at Rutland and Windsor. He was twice reelected to the Senate. He was an unusually capable presiding officer and for several years was President Pro Tem of the United States Senate. He died at Washington, March 28, 1866.

Jacob Collamer was born in Troy, N. Y., January 8, 1791. When four years old he removed with his family to Burlington, Vt. He entered the University of Vermont in 1806 and was graduated in the class of 1810. He studied law in St. Albans with Judge Asa Aldis and Hon. Benjamin Swift and was admitted to the bar in 1813. In 1812 he entered the army and served as a Lieutenant of artillery. In 1814 he was a member of the staff of General French at Plattsburg. Soon after his admission to the bar he opened an office at Randolph,

removing in 1816 to Royalton, which was his home until 1836, when he removed to Woodstock. He represented Royalton in the Legislature in 1821-22, 1827 and 1830, and was State's Attorney of Windsor county, 1820-24. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1836, and served as a Judge of the Superior Court from 1834 until his election to the House of Representatives in 1842. Declining reelection in 1848, he was appointed Postmaster General in the Cabinet of President Taylor, resigning with his associates upon the death of the President. Soon after his resignation he was elected a Judge of the Circuit Court, presiding in county court trials, which office he held until elected to the United States Senate in 1854 by the newly organized Republican party. He was reelected in 1860 and in that year Vermont presented his name as a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. He was a lawyer and a Judge of great ability and was considered an authority on constitutional law in the United States Senate. He died at his home in Woodstock, November 9, 1865.

George Perkins Marsh was born at Woodstock, Vt., March 15, 1801. He was a grandson of Joseph Marsh, Vermont's first Lieutenant Governor, and he was a son of Charles Marsh, a member of Congress from 1815 to 1817, and one of the famous lawyers of the State. His mother was the second wife of Charles Marsh. She was widow of Josias Lyndon Arnold of St. Johnsbury, and was a woman of unusual culture and refinement. Mr. Marsh, therefore, inherited exceptional qualities of mind and noble traits of character. He prepared for college at Andover, Mass., and entered Dartmouth, grad-

uating in the class of 1820. He studied law in his father's office and was admitted to the bar in 1825. He opened an office in Burlington and there found in this University town intellectual and cultured associates who were congenial companions. Here he began to assemble his famous library and collection of engravings. In addition to his professional duties he pursued the study of languages, particularly those of northern Europe. In 1838 he published an Icelandic Grammar. In 1835 he was elected a member of the Governor's Council. He served three terms in Congress, from 1843 to 1849, being an active and an influential member. Abraham Lincoln once said to a native of Vermont that Mr. Marsh was the most scholarly man in Congress during his (Lincoln's) term of service. In 1849 he was appointed United States Minister to Turkey, serving until 1853. In 1852 he was charged with a special mission to Greece. Returning to his home, in 1857, he was appointed State Railroad Commissioner, serving until 1859. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him the first United States Minister to the new Kingdom of Italy, and he performed the duties of the office efficiently until his death, July 24, 1882. He was one of the most scholarly men Vermont ever has produced. He wrote many books and was a noted philologist. He was also interested in music, painting, sculpture and architecture. His valuable library later was purchased for the University of Vermont. It is worthy of note that two of his Vermont contemporaries, Hiland Hall and William Slade, were men whose literary achievements have been remembered longer than their political honors.

Paul Dillingham, Jr., was born in Shutesbury, Mass., August 10, 1799. His father, Paul Dillingham, was a Revolutionary soldier, and the family removed to Waterbury, Vt., in 1807. He attended the Washington County Grammar School at Montpelier, studied law with Dan Carpenter of Waterbury, and was admitted to the bar in 1824. He opened an office in his home town and during the greater part of his active life, for fifty years or more, he was engaged in the practice of his profession. He was said to be one of the best jury lawyers in Vermont. He was an orator of great power, possessed of a voice of unusual charm, was a man of commanding presence and great personal magnetism. He was Town Clerk of Waterbury from 1829 to 1844; represented the town in the Legislature in 1833, 1834, 1837 and 1839; was State's Attorney of Washington county, 1835-39; was a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1836, 1857 and 1870; and was a State Senator in 1841, 1842 and 1861. He served two terms in Congress. For many years he was a prominent Vermont Democrat, being elected to Congress as a Representative of that party, and being several times the Democratic candidate for Governor. Always opposed to slavery, he was a strong supporter of the Union when the Civil War broke out and he soon affiliated himself with the Republican party. From 1862 to 1865 he served as Lieutenant Governor, and in 1865 he was elected Governor, being reelected in 1866. He resumed the practice of law after retiring from office and continued in his profession until he was eighty years old. He was an active layman in the Methodist Church. He died at

The Summit of Mount Mansfield

his home in Waterbury, July 26, 1891. One son, William P. Dillingham, was Governor of Vermont, 1888-90 and is now (1921) a United States Senator. A daughter became the wife of Matthew H. Carpenter, United States Senator from Wisconsin.

All of the members of the Congressional delegation, elected in 1842, became men of distinction, who are numbered among Vermont's most famous sons.

In his annual message to the General Assembly, Governor Paine called attention to the urgent need of a reform in the system of State accounting, which furnished opportunity for fraudulent practices. He foresaw the time when the competition of the West would seriously affect the sale of Vermont's wool product, and he expressed the opinion that the building of railroads through the State would be an aid to manufacturing. He declared: "Almost unattainable as this object seems at present to be, I do not at all despair its ultimate accomplishment." This object was much nearer realization than the Governor supposed when he penned these words, and his own energy and zeal were to contribute powerfully toward securing railroad facilities for Vermont.

The Legislature of 1842 revised the militia law, adopted resolutions directing the Auditor of Accounts to continue an investigation into the defective accounting system in the Treasury Department, and favoring the repeal of the National Bankruptcy Act. New York resolutions calling for a reduction of letter postage and a correction of the disparity between the rates on letters and other postal rates were approved. A resolution was also adopted, providing "That the Constitution of the

United States ought to be amended so as to prevent the existence and maintenance of slavery in the United States in any form or manner."

Gradually public opinion in Vermont had developed, until it was ready to eradicate the evil, root and branch. As an illustration, however, of the fact that human nature does not change radically from decade to decade, and that it is much easier to condemn an evil a long way from home than it is to view with broad minded toleration affairs that disturb one's own political household, there may be cited the attempt during the legislative session of 1842 to oust Chief Judge Charles K. Williams. Judge Williams had permitted the use of his name as the Abolition candidate for Governor, and as this proceeding was supposed to endanger the success of the dominant party, some of the Whigs determined to discipline him by defeating him for reelection. Accordingly Judge Keyes was nominated for Chief Judge, and failed of election by only three votes.

In addition to electing Ex-Governor Crafts United States Senator for the short term left vacant by Judge Prentiss, William Upham of Montpelier was chosen for the long term, beginning March 4, 1843. The vote was, Upham (Whig), 122; William C. Bradley (Dem.), 100; scattering, 6. The candidates for the Whig nomination included Hon. Horace Everett and Hon. Jacob Collamer.

William Upham was born in Leicester, Mass., August 5, 1792. Ten years later the family removed to Vermont, and occupied a farm in Montpelier. Young Upham was able to attend only the winter terms of school until, at the age of fifteen, his right hand was

crushed in a cider press, necessitating the amputation of all the fingers. Being unfitted for farm labor he was permitted to attend Montpelier Academy, and to study Latin and Greek with a tutor. He studied law in the office of Samuel Prentiss and in 1811 was admitted to the bar, forming a partnership with Nicholas Baylies. He represented his town in the Legislature in 1827-28 and in 1830. He was State's Attorney of Washington county in 1829-30. He was one of the best jury lawyers in Vermont, a master of eloquence and sarcasm, magnetic in manner and impetuous in attack. In the Harrison campaign of 1840 he stumped the State for the Whig ticket, and his success as a political orator no doubt aided materially in securing his election to the Senate. He was reelected in 1849 and served until his death, January 14, 1853. His service was during a notable period of American history, when some of the greatest of American statesmen were active in the Senate. The career of Senator Upham was creditable and he represented with ability the views of his constituents on slavery, the tariff and other great questions of that period.

On the opening day of the session, December 5, 1842, Congressman Everett of Vermont announced his intention to introduce a bill repealing the national bankruptcy law. A few days later he introduced such a measure and spoke in favor of the repeal of the act. There was great dissatisfaction with the law and Congress was flooded with petitions praying for its repeal. Mr. Everett's bill passed the House with a slight amendment but was defeated in the Senate. Later the Senate yielded and repealed the act. Senator Phelps was made

chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, served on Indian Affairs and was appointed on an important special committee to consider the occupation and settlement of Oregon Territory. In the House, Mr. Hall was chairman of Revolutionary Claims, Mr. Slade served on Manufactures; Mr. Everett, on Foreign Affairs; Mr. Young, on Invalid Pensions; and Mr. Mattocks, on Roads and Canals. On March 2, 1843, the House refused Mr. Slade's request for a suspension of the rules to permit him to present the resolutions relating to slavery, adopted by the Vermont Legislature.

The Whig State Convention of 1843 nominated Congressman John Mattocks of Peacham for Governor and elected Harry Bradley of Burlington and Gov. Charles Paine of Northfield, delegates-at-large to the Whig National Convention. The sentiment of the convention was in favor of Henry Clay as the Presidential candidate. The Democratic State Convention nominated Daniel Kellogg of Rockingham as its candidate for Governor and elected delegates to the National Convention favorable to the nomination of Martin Van Buren for President. Chief Justice Williams again was nominated as the Anti-Slavery candidate for Governor. There was no election of Governor by the people, the vote standing, Mattocks, 24,465; Kellogg, 21,982; Williams, 3,766; scattering, 21. There was a Whig majority in both branches of the Legislature and John Mattocks was elected Governor in joint assembly.

In his annual message Governor Mattocks made a fierce protest against the slave trade in the District of Columbia. He recommended that the Legislature pass

a law prohibiting all Vermont magistrates from taking cognizance of, or acting under, the national fugitive slave act of 1793, or any law of similar import. In his judgment, court decisions would permit such a course. He also recommended a law prohibiting all executive officers of the State from arresting or detaining in jail any person claimed as a fugitive slave. He believed this "to be a proper mode of exhibiting the determination of the State to do no act which she may constitutionally omit to do, to countenance the institution of slavery." He feared that Texas would be annexed to the United States for the purpose of giving a preponderance to the slave power, adding: "If such an attempt shall succeed, then woe betide our unhappy country. Who then can hope that the wrath of Heaven can be longer restrained?" He announced that the school fund amounted to $211,234.95. Of this sum, $173,154 was due on loans made to the State and the remainder was due on loans to individuals.

Responding to the recommendation made by Governor Mattocks, the Legislature passed a "Personal Liberty" bill, designed as a protest against the seizure of fugitive slaves. Earlier in the year Massachusetts had enacted a similar measure. Connecticut passed an act of the same general nature in 1844, and New Hampshire followed suit in 1846, Pennsylvania in 1847 and Rhode Island in 1848. The Vermont law provided that no court of record or any Judge or Magistrate, acting under the authority of the State, hereafter should take cognizance of or grant a certificate, warrant or other process to any person claiming any other person as a

fugitive slave in the State, in any case arising under Section 3 of an act of Congress, passed February 12, 1793, entitled "an act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters." This bill passed the House by a vote of 168 to 5, and became a law. Vermont was severely criticised by the slave States and by many others whose sympathies were not with the anti-slavery cause. It was called a "nullification" act, and a denial of the national authority.

Other acts of the Legislature included the voting of State aid to county agricultural societies, the sum of two thousand dollars being apportioned according to the population of the several counties. The Vermont Central Railroad Company, the Connecticut River Railroad Company, the Brattleboro & Fitchburg Railroad Company, and the New York & Champlain Steamboat Company, were incorporated. Resolutions were adopted protesting against "any attempt for the annexation of Texas to this Union," as a measure unconstitutional and dangerous to the Union itself. The objection was the fact that such annexation would enlarge the slave holding territory of the United States and increase the political power of the slave States. Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territory of Florida were urged as being within "the province and constitutional powers of Congress." The right of petition was regarded as sacred. There was no equivocation in the following resolution, setting forth Vermont's opinion regarding slavery: "Resolved: That we desire the speedy abolition of slavery throughout the whole land: and that we will use all just and lawful means within

our power to accomplish that end." The rights of habeas corpus and trial by jury were declared sacred and inviolable, "and cannot lawfully be denied to any human being in the land, irrespective of color or condition."

Senators were instructed and Representatives requested "to resist to the utmost the repeal of the present revenue laws." It was asserted that "the improvement in the business, and the gradual advance in the prices of the products of the country, and especially in the great staple of Vermont (wool), affords incontestable evidence of the beneficial effects of the tariff law."

Public opinion in Vermont was urgently demanding railroad connections with southern New England and other parts of the country. A railroad convention was held at Brattleboro on December 5, 1843, which advocated the extension of the Boston & Fitchburg Railroad to that village. At a railroad convention held at Montpelier, January 8, 1844, a committee was authorized to cause a survey to be made from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain, by way of the White and Onion (Winooski) Rivers as soon as the necessary funds could be raised. There was a sharp contest, which continued after railroads actually were in operation, in regard to the most feasible railroad route from Boston into Vermont, between the routes later utilized by two railroads, the Central Vermont and the Bellows Falls division of the Rutland. The *Vermont Watchman* in its issue of July 19, 1844, announced that the railroad survey from Burlington to the Connecticut River, by way of Northfield, had been completed. A controversy was waged

over the location of the Vermont Central route, one faction favoring a line passing through Northfield, and another, which included the citizens of Montpelier, advocating a route through Williamstown Gulf. At a meeting of the board of directors, held in Boston, the Northfield route was chosen, the estimates submitted showing that this route would cost four hundred and twenty-three thousand dollars less than that through Williamstown.

About this time the name of Cornelius P. Van Ness was under consideration for a vacancy on the bench of the United States Supreme Court, but he failed to receive the appointment, although he had many powerful friends.

At the opening session of Congress, in December, 1843, Messrs. Collamer, Foot and Marsh of Vermont, with fifty others, signed a protest against the admission of Representatives from New Hampshire, Georgia, Missouri and Mississippi, on the ground that those States had not chosen members of Congress by districts, as the law required. In the Senate, Mr. Upham was made chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, an unusual honor for a new member, and he was also assigned to the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. Senator Phelps was made chairman of the Committee on Patents and a member of the Committees on Indian Affairs and Claims. The members of the House were assigned as follows: Collamer, Manufactures; Dillingham, Judiciary; Foot, Indian Affairs; Marsh, Naval Affairs.

Early in the session Messrs. Collamer and Dillingham participated in the House debates and Senator Phelps

made an able speech on the tariff. Judge Collamer's first speech related to the failure of certain States to comply with the law requiring the election of Congressmen by districts. On April 29, 1844, he delivered a powerful speech on "Wool and Woolens," in which he protested against the injustice of the House in refusing to print the minority tariff report of the Committee on Ways and Means, after twenty thousand copies of the majority report had been printed for distribution. He asserted that Vermont produced more wool than any other State except New York and three times as much as New York in proportion to the population. Senator Phelps on April 3, 1844, presented memorials from Vermont remonstrating against the proposed reduction of the tariff and the annexation of Texas, saying that "on both these subjects the sentiment of the people of that State was, without distinction of party, unanimously against both measures." Senator Upham opposed the ratification of the treaty providing for the annexation of Texas. A bill reducing the tariff was laid on the table in the House (1844) by a vote of 105 to 99. All the Vermont members voted yea on this motion.

The Whig National Convention assembled at Baltimore, May 1, 1844. The Vermont delegates were Harry Bradley of Burlington, Charles Paine of Northfield, Calvin Townsley of Brattleboro, Jedediah H. Harris of Strafford, John Peck of Burlington and Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury. Governor Paine was one of the vice presidents of the convention.

In response to the general sentiment of the Nation, Henry Clay was nominated by acclamation as the party's

candidate for President. On the fourth ballot, Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey was nominated as the Vice Presidential candidate. On the first ballot Vermont's six votes were cast for John Davis of Massachusetts. The vote on the second ballot was, Davis, 5; Millard Fillmore of New York, 1. On the third ballot Vermont's vote was cast as follows: Davis, 4; Fillmore, 1; Frelinghuysen, 1. A Young Men's Whig meeting followed immediately after the National Convention. In the parade Governor Paine and Senator Phelps marched at the head of the Vermont delegation. The State banner was of white satin, in the center of which was a large gold star and under it the words, "The star that never sets." The Burlington Clay Club carried banners and a glee club sang Whig songs.

The Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844. The Vermont delegates were William C. Bradley of Westminster, Luther B. Hunt of St. Albans, Charles K. Field of Newfane, Charles G. Eastman of Woodstock, Wyllys Lyman of Burlington and David P. Noyes of Morristown. L. B. Hunt was vice president for Vermont. The delegates from this State were instructed for Van Buren. On the first ballot the Vermont vote was, Van Buren, 5; Cass, 1. From the second to the eighth ballot, inclusive, Vermont's six votes went to Lewis Cass, and on the ninth, and last ballot, the entire delegation voted for James K. Polk, who was nominated.

One of the interesting features of both Whig and Democratic conventions was the use of the new telegraph line, connecting Baltimore and Washington, by

means of which the news of the convention was transmitted to the national capital. Silas Wright of New York, whose boyhood was spent in Vermont, was unanimously nominated as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, but declined the honor. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was thereupon chosen to fill the vacancy.

A Tyler Democratic Convention nominated President Tyler. The Vermont vice president of the convention was O. V. Hollenbeck and one of its secretaries was J. W. Wilson of Vermont.

Governor Paine spoke briefly at a great Whig meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, May 10, which was addressed by Webster. The Whig State Convention, held at Burlington, July 26, nominated William Slade of Middlebury for Governor. The attendance is said to have been at least ten thousand. The Democratic State Convention held at Montpelier, July 4, renominated Daniel Kellogg of Rockingham. The Anti-Slavery or Liberty party nominated William R. Shafter of Townshend for Governor.

The Whig ticket was elected by a majority somewhat larger than usual, the vote being as follows: Slade, 28,265; Kellogg, 20,930; Shafter, 5,618; scattering, 34. The Anti-Slavery vote was growing rapidly and was a force to be reckoned with. The Senate was composed of twenty-one Whigs and nine Democrats. In the House there were one hundred and thirty-one Whigs, sixty-six Democrats, eight Abolitionists and thirty-three towns unrepresented. The Democrats led in Caledonia, Lamoille, Orange and Washington counties.

In the November election Clay carried Vermont by a good majority, the vote by counties being as follows:

	Clay	*Polk*	*Birney and scattering*
Addison	2,527	772	314
Bennington	1,656	1,451	145
Caledonia	1,761	1,730	184
Chittenden	1,929	1,449	390
Essex	392	331	18
Franklin	1,872	1,438	261
Grand Isle	339	165	0
Lamoille	485	759	413
Orange	2,076	1,910	417
Orleans	1,192	833	247
Rutland	3,584	1,578	334
Washington	1,650	2,085	307
Windham	2,642	1,703	385
Windsor	4,669	1,843	539
Total	26,770	18,041	3,984

The Democrats led in Lamoille and Washington counties. One Whig newspaper called attention to the fact that this vote was cast after the returns received made it practically certain that Polk was elected. At that time there was no uniform date for Presidential voting, but an act was passed by Congress in 1845 providing that Presidential Electors should be voted for on the same day in all States of the Union.

The Vermont Electors chosen were Jedediah H. Harris of Strafford, Carlos Coolidge of Windsor, John

Peck of Burlington, Benjamin Swift of St. Albans, Calvin Townsley of Brattleboro and Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury. The vote of Vermont was cast for Clay and Frelinghuysen.

In the First Congressional district Solomon Foot was reelected by 1,813 majority. Jacob Collamer was chosen again in the Second district by a majority of 1,290. In the Third district, George P. Marsh was returned, his majority being 1,531. In the Fourth district Paul Dillingham (Dem.) led, but there was no choice. In the second election Chandler, the Whig candidate, gained, but there was no choice. On the third trial, January 4, 1845, Dillingham was reelected.

The Legislature, on October 24, reelected Senator Samuel S. Phelps on the ninth ballot, the vote standing, Phelps, 120; Stephen S. Brown (Dem.), 72; George P. Marsh, 21; Charles K. Williams, 9; William Slade, 4; scattering, 2.

The House organized by reelecting Andrew Tracy of Woodstock as Speaker. Governor Slade's message was very long. He emphasized the need of better school houses and better teachers. He recommended that the power of issuing licenses for the sale of liquor "for the common benefit" should not remain with the courts, but should be brought nearer to the people. He argued at length against the annexation of Texas, which, he asserted, was a foreign nation, the policy being designed to sustain the cause of slavery. It must be remembered that Governor Slade was one of the most radical anti-slavery Whigs in America, and the extreme position which he took probably was more pronounced than that

of the rank and file of Vermonters. On the subject of the proposed annexation of Texas he said: "Upon the consummation of the threatened measure I do not hesitate to say that it would be the duty of Vermont to declare her unalterable determination to have no connection with the new union thus formed without her consent and against her will. To carry out this determination would not be to dissolve the Union, but to refuse to submit to its dissolution—not to nullify, but to resist nullification. I do not undervalue the Union. I greatly value and would preserve it. But it is the Union of which the present Constitution is a bond. If the question were properly submitted to Vermont, whether she would come into a new union, we would deliberate upon it; but the question whether we will submit to be forced into it under pretence of a power to do so which does not exist, is not to be debated for a moment, any more than we would debate the question of submission to a foreign yoke." Texas was annexed, and Governor Slade and Vermont remained in the Union. This message, written, no doubt, amid great excitement, when there existed in this State and elsewhere a justifiable feeling of indignation over the encroachments of the slave power, is not altogether pleasant reading on account of its similarity to the extreme State Rights doctrines of the South, which led to actual secession. Vermont never seriously contemplated any step which would weaken the ties which bound it to the sisterhood of States, and this utterance of Governor Slade is valuable only as an illustration of the depth of feeling against slavery which existed in this commonwealth at that time.

The Legislature of 1844 authorized a geological survey and appropriated annually for three years the sum of two thousand dollars. The Governor was requested to demand of the United States the brass cannon taken by the Green Mountain Boys at the battle of Bennington.

It was declared by the Legislature that the tariff act of August 30, 1842, had "proved highly beneficial to the citizens of Vermont," and criticised James K. Polk for his opposition to a protective tariff. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 130 to 13. It was further declared, by a vote of 119 to 55, that the distribution of the public lands was due as an act of justice to the States and was necessary to the permanency of the protective system.

A resolution was adopted, by a vote of 120 to 48, opposing the annexation of Texas, and declaring that such an act "would be unconstitutional, inexpedient and unjust." It was further "Resolved, That, in the name of our constituents, and ourselves, we hereby solemnly protest against, and declare the hostility of the State of Vermont to such annexation, and request our Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their exertions to prevent its being consummated." The Legislature further declared, "That we regard the institution of slavery as a monstrous anomaly in a free government, and as the source of intolerable evils, * * * and that we, therefore, protest against its extension over another foot of territory, and insist upon its restriction to the narrowest limits consistent with the spirit of the original compact between the States." Beyond question the spirit of Vermont was expressed in these resolutions, which neither blustered nor threatened, but spoke with

all the force which the English language and the New England conscience would permit.

The voices of Vermont's Senators and Representatives were raised against the annexation of Texas, and all Vermont's votes, with the exception of that of Congressman Dillingham, were cast against the annexation resolution.

Each one of the three candidates for Governor, in 1844, was renominated in 1845, and the size of the Anti-Slavery vote threw the election into the Legislature. The result of the popular vote for Governor was: Slade, 22,770; Kellogg, 18,594; Shafter, 6,534; scattering, 362. In joint assembly Governor Slade was re-elected, receiving 132 votes, while Mr. Kellogg received 75 and Mr. Shafter, 14. Ebenezer N. Briggs of Brandon was elected Speaker.

Governor Slade's message again was a long document. He criticised the educational policy of the State, particularly the lack of school supervision. He called attention to the fact that in 1825 the foundation of a school fund was established, when an act was passed sequestering and granting to the various towns the amount of the avails of the Vermont State Bank, accrued and to accrue; also the amount of the State bonds accruing from a 6 per cent tax on the net profits of the banks, and the amount received from peddlers' licenses. The State borrowed from this fund for the erection of the second State House and for other purposes. There was due from the State, $224,309.50, and from individuals, $10,590.94, a total of $234,900.44. The advisability of continuing the fund was a matter that must be deter-

mined. Under the terms by which it was established it could not be appropriated until it was large enough to defray the expenses of a good common school in each district of the State during two months of each year. The Governor estimated that the provision would require at least two million dollars, which sum at compound interest would not be available before the year 1878. He favored the abolition of the fund. He did not approve conditions in the county jails, where the prisoners had neither employment nor exercise, and he recommended better conditions and employment. He announced that under the terms of the act providing for a State Geologist, he had appointed Prof. Charles B. Adams of Middlebury.

Again he objected to the annexation of Texas, expressing the fear that if the policy of foreign annexation were to prevail, Vermont would become an appendage of "a vast slave empire." If this policy succeeded it would be the duty of Vermont to go to the very verge of our constitutional power to effect the abolition of slavery, as 'the chief evil of our country, and the great crime of our age'." He protested against the policy of the Secretary of the Treasury, which favored a tariff for revenue only with incidental protection.

Following the Governor's suggestion, the State school fund was abolished, a policy which the Democrats were not slow to use in their attacks upon the Whig administration. A new school law was passed, in which provision was made for town and county superintendents of schools and a State Superintendent of Education. One or three town superintendents might be elected in

town meeting. The county superintendents were to be appointed by the Judges of the county courts, and the State Superintendent was to be elected by the joint assembly. The Vermont & Canada and the Western Vermont Railroad Companies were incorporated. A resolution was adopted protesting against the annexation of Texas "without the consent of each and every State of the Union."

January 28, 1846, is an important date in Vermont history, because on that day ground was broken on the Vermont Central line at Northfield, this being the first railroad construction begun in the State. At two o'clock in the afternoon, in the presence of an assemblage estimated at three thousand persons, President Charles Paine and the contractor dug the first shovelfuls of earth, "a few rods west of the meeting house at the Factory village," amid the cheering of the people, the ringing of bells and the firing of one hundred rounds from two six-pounder guns. A public dinner was served at the Northfield House and Ex-Governor Paine was toasted as "the man to whom the people of Vermont are more indebted than to another for the success of the Central Railroad." President Paine responded, saying that, although a member of the committee to decide the choice of route, he had never availed himself of the privilege of voting upon this question. He attributed the success of the enterprise, in great measure, to the connection with the Fitchburg road, which had chosen the Central route in preference to any other. The *Montpelier Watchman* defended the action of the board of directors in choosing the Northfield route, although naturally it

had hoped that the Williamstown route might be selected, passing through the State capital, and it showed that three surveys had indicated that the Northfield line was the more feasible.

Work was begun on the roadbed at Richmond, February 23, 1846, in the presence of a large number of people. During the summer of that year more than two thousand laborers were employed in construction work on the Vermont Central (later known as the Central Vermont) line.

Ground was broken for the Rutland Railroad on January 28, 1847. Apparently there was considerable rivalry between the Central and Rutland Railroads. The first regular passenger train in Vermont was run over the Vermont Central Railroad from the mouth of the White River (now White River Junction) to Bethel, a distance of twenty-seven miles, on June 26, 1848. Three cars were filled with passengers, and among them was Abbott Lawrence, Boston's well-known business man and capitalist, with members of his family. At Bethel a dinner was served, after which Mr. Lawrence addressed "the assembled multitude."

The coming of the railroad to Bellows Falls on New Year's Day, 1849, was described in the *Bellows Falls Gazette* of January 4, under the caption, "The Cars Have Come," in the following words: "On Monday, January 1, much to the astonishment of some, and gratification of all, the first train of cars ever seen in this vicinity passed over the Cheshire road, and Sullivan, to Charlestown, No. 4. (The old fort at Charlestown, N. H., erected in Colonial days, was known as Number

Four.) The day was fine and a great assembly of people had collected here to witness the grand *entree* of the Iron Horse. The engine came up in grand style and when opposite our village the monster gave one of its most savage yells, frightening men, women and children considerable and bringing forth deafening howls from all the dogs in the neighborhood."

On January 31, 1849, the Sullivan (N. H.) Railroad and the southern division of the Vermont Central were opened to Windsor. At noon the Central train arrived at Windsor with three hundred passengers from Burlington, Montpelier, Randolph and other towns along the route. At 4 P. M. a train of eleven cars, drawn by two locomotives, arrived from the south, bringing approximately one thousand persons from Keene, Fitchburg, Boston and intermediate stations. Probably five thousand persons were assembled, and the event was celebrated by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon and the cheers of the people. A dinner was served by the residents of Windsor.

On February 5, trains began to run from Northfield to Boston by way of the Sullivan, Cheshire, Vermont and Massachusetts and Fitchburg Railroads. On June 20, the road was opened to Montpelier. The formal opening of the Vermont & Massachusetts road to Brattleboro took place on February 20, 1849. The Rutland & Burlington Railroad was opened from Burlington to Salisbury on September 20. Work was carried on from Bellows Falls toward Rutland and the line was opened in December, 1849. During the summer of 1849, before

the mountain division was completed, passengers were carried over the mountain from Ludlow in stages.

The Connecticut & Passumpsic Rivers Railroad Company was organized January 15, 1846, with Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury as president, amid the usual demonstrations.

There was much rivalry between the Vermont Central and Rutland Companies to determine which line should reach Burlington first with a train from Boston. The Rutland won by about two weeks, opening its line on December 18. Trains from Burlington and Boston, with directors and other officials on board, met on the summit of the pass at Mount Holly, where the last spike had been driven only a few hours before. A cannon was fired in honor of the occasion. Nathan Rice of Boston, active in building the Rutland Railroad, had brought a bottle of water from Boston harbor, and this was mingled with water from Lake Champlain, Mr. Rice proposing the health of President Timothy Follett of the Rutland Railroad Company. Judge Follett responded, toasting Mr. Rice and William B. Gilbert, the chief engineer. It is reported that bottles containing stronger waters were opened, the contents of which were not spilled, and tradition says that a barrel of New England rum was provided for the crowd assembled. The two trains were united here and were drawn by a flag-decorated engine, named Mount Holly.

A stop was made at Brandon, where tables had been spread with a bountiful luncheon by the good women of that village. At Middlebury and Vergennes, cheers and the firing of cannon greeted the arrival of the train.

When Burlington was reached, the officials proceeded to the south wharf, where Judge Foote poured water from the Atlantic Ocean into Lake Champlain. Speeches were made by Lieut. Gov. Robert Pierpoint, Mr. Rice, David A. Smalley and others. Two years had elapsed since ground was broken for the Rutland Railroad and only seven months, since the first rails were laid. The Vermont Central was opened as far as Winooski on the morning of December 31, 1849.

There was considerable controversy concerning the building of bridges over a portion of Lake Champlain at Rouses Point, N. Y., giving the Vermont & Canada a railroad connection with northern New York, and incidentally opening a route from northern New England to the Great Lakes and the West. This was finally brought about, after much newspaper discussion, and no little opposition from what the newspapers described as a combination of Rutland, Passumpsic and Lake Champlain interests.

The telegraph and the railroads came to Vermont almost simultaneously. The construction of the Troy and Canada Junction telegraph line was begun in 1847, was completed as far as Burlington, was first used on February 2, 1848, and was soon extended to Montreal. The Vermont and Boston Telegraph Company was incorporated November 11, 1848, and the line from Boston to White River Junction was completed in October, 1851.

Congressman Dillingham (Dem.) was the only Vermont member in the House to support the bill declaring war with Mexico. Governor Slade announced, on June

1, 1846, that "the voluntary offer of service of those who may be disposed to engage in this war (with Mexico) will be accepted to an extent sufficient to form one battalion of five companies of infantry." This was not in the nature of an enthusiastic call to arms, but knowing Governor Slade's views on this and kindred subjects, one may readily imagine that even this task was not altogether agreeable. Such comment in no sense is to be considered a reflection on Governor Slade's patriotism. The war with Mexico was distinctly unpopular in Vermont, because it was earnestly believed by thousands of honest men and women to be a war brought about to add slave territory to the United States, and to increase the representation of slaveholding States in Congress. While Governor Slade's zeal at times may have outrun his discretion, his warfare upon slavery will be counted to his credit, and the blows he struck at the institution were neither few nor ineffective.

Truman B. Ransom, president of Norwich University, and prominent in Democratic State politics, resigned his presidency at the outbreak of the war to accept a commission as Major in the Ninth, or New England regiment, of which Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire was Colonel. Pierce was a friend of Major Ransom, being a trustee of Norwich. Ransom was promoted soon to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and when Colonel Pierce was made Brigadier General, succeeded him in command of the Ninth regiment. In the opinion of many persons, Ransom, with his superior knowledge of military affairs and his experience in commanding men,

rather than Pierce, who lacked these qualities, should have been given the higher rank.

Edgar A. Kimball, editor of the *Woodstock Spirit of The Age,* was appointed Captain of the Vermont company, which consisted of eighty-four men recruited from more than thirty towns. E. B. Kellogg, a division engineer on the Passumpsic Railroad, was made First Lieutenant, and the Second Lieutenants were Jesse A. Gove, a Norwich cadet, and Robert Hopkins. Dean Fairbanks of Woodstock was Sergeant Major. The company formed a part of Colonel Ransom's regiment, which was attached to Pierce's brigade, of Pillow's division, in General Scott's army. Colonel Ransom was commended by General Scott for the good discipline and conduct of his regiment, and for his skill in handling troops. He served with distinction in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, and was selected to lead the assault, September 13, 1847, on the west side of the hill, on the summit of which was the fortress of Chapultepec. In a dash across an open space, about half way up the hill, between a cypress forest known as Montezuma's Grove, and the fortress, Colonel Ransom, while leading his regiment, was shot through the head by a bullet and instantly killed. The soldiers pushed forward and occupied the outer walls of the fortress. There was delay in getting scaling ladders, and Sergeant Major Fairbanks of Vermont, seizing two bayonets, thrust them into fissures in the wall. Climbing on these improvised steps, Fairbanks and Captain Kimball are said to have been the first to reach the roof and lower the Mexican colors from the Bishop's Palace. It is also claimed that Maj.

Thomas H. Seymour, a Norwich graduate, was the first to enter the citadel. The Ninth regiment appears to have been first to enter the fortress. Colonel Ransom was buried in a cemetery at Mexico, the Vermont company acting as escort.

In an official report, Captain Kimball mentioned the names of fourteen men who died in army hospitals and one man who was discharged on account of the loss of an arm. This report says the men of the Vermont company were engaged in "all the battles of the valley," and adds, "A braver set of fellows never existed. It is the only company from its State, and all belonging to it feel it."

Lieut. Col. Martin Scott, a native of Bennington, a graduate of the United States Military Academy, and a famous sharpshooter, serving in General Worth's division, was killed in the battle before Mexico. He had been promoted for meritorious conduct at Palo Alto.

Several Vermonters were in the service during the Mexican War, who were not attached to the New England regiment, most of them being in the regular army. Col. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a native of Vermont and a grandson of the Hero of Ticonderoga, acted as Inspector General for General Scott. He was one of the busiest men in the army, and his position was one of great responsibility. A letter to the Mexican people, written by General Hitchcock, was distributed by thousands along the line of march. It was designed to state the American side of the controversy and to allay the fears of the Mexicans. Col. Sylvester Churchill held the position of Inspector General. Col. Henry Stanton was

Assistant Quartermaster General. Lieut. Col. Gustavas Loomis of the Sixth Infantry, Lieut. Col. Thomas Staniford of the Eighth Infantry, First Lieut. John W. Phelps of the First Artillery, First Lieut. Israel B. Richardson of the Third Infantry, Second Lieut. W. F. Smith of the Topographical Engineers, and First Lieut. Benjamin Alvord of the Fourth Infantry, were among the Vermonters who saw service in Mexico. Phelps, Richardson and Smith won distinction in the Civil War, Alvord was later Paymaster General of the Army. Capt. Lucien B. Webster of the First Artillery was appointed Major by brevet for meritorious conduct at Monterey. Charles Taplin of Montpelier, who accompanied Col. John C. Fremont on two expeditions west of the Rocky Mountains, was made a Lieutenant. Gen. Rush C. Hawkins, as a lad, crossed the country to enlist in the service in Mexico. This is not a complete list of Vermont officers engaged in the Mexican War, but is taken largely from newspapers of the Mexican War period.

Colonel Ransom's body was disinterred and brought to Vermont. The funeral was held at Norwich on Washington's Birthday, 1848. The body was conducted from Hanover, N. H., to the State line under escort of two companies of New Hampshire militia, and was met by two companies of Vermont militia. The funeral services were conducted by Rev. James D. Butler, acting president of Norwich University. Adjutant General Hopkins of the State military department delivered the eulogy.

Resolutions deploring the death of Colonel Ransom, praising his gallantry and authorizing the Governor to purchase a sword of honor to present to the family of the gallant officer, were adopted by the Vermont Legislature in 1847. On the evening of October 30, 1848, this sword was presented to Colonel Ransom's son, Dunbar S. Ransom, a cadet at West Point, in the presence of Governor Coolidge and other State officers.

About four thousand rifles for use in the Mexican War were manufactured by Robbins & Lawrence at Windsor.

Senator Upham offered an amendment to the bill appropriating three million dollars to enable the President to conclude a treaty of peace with Mexico, providing that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the territory acquired from Mexico. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 21 to 31. Senator Upham voted against the ratification of the treaty of peace with Mexico. Senator Phelps was absent on account of illness. Peace was declared in May, 1848, soon after which the Vermont company was disbanded and the men returned to their homes.

In 1845 and 1846 Postmaster Palmer of Brattleboro is said to have issued the first printed postage stamps ever used. They were printed in black ink on a light buff paper. A few post-offices, including those at New York City and Providence, R. I., were permitted to make the experiment, but Brattleboro's issue is claimed to have been the first, and collectors pay fabulous prices for the few Brattleboro stamps available.

Governor Slade declined to be a candidate for reelection, having accepted an appointment as secretary and general agent of the Central Committee for National Education, the duties of which were to secure teachers in the East for schools in the West, and the task took him out of the State. Congressmen Foot and Dillingham also announced that they would not again be candidates.

The Whigs, in 1846, nominated Horace Eaton of Enosburg for Governor and Leonard Sargent of Manchester for Lieutenant Governor, at a convention held on June 25. The platform declared the annexation of Texas to be "a foul blot on the Nation," but added: "The enemies of our country are our enemies, and whenever that country is involved in war, we hold it to be the first duty of every patriot to sustain the administration in its defense; and its next, to hold that administration to a strict accountability, if it shall involve us in war without cause, or conduct it with dishonor." This declaration was made a little more than a month after war was declared. Evidently the Whigs had learned a lesson from the Federalists, and did not propose to repeat the mistakes of the period of the War of 1812. A resolution was adopted, extending thanks to General Taylor "and his gallant troops for the ability, patriotism and bravery so efficiently displayed in the conduct of the Texan War." The Walker tariff act was condemned. This act materially reduced tariff protection and passed the Senate only by the casting vote of Vice President Dallas. One Whig Senator from Tennessee, who spoke against the bill, voted for it because

the State Legislature had instructed him to do so. Although Congressman Dillingham did not vote directly for this tariff measure, he voted to concur in the Senate amendments, which saved the measure from defeat on account of a disagreement of the two Houses; and the *Vermont Watchman* printed his name in "The Black List of New England," with the members from that section who had made the passage of the bill possible.

The Democratic State Convention nominated John Smith of St. Albans for Governor and Truman B. Ransom of Norwich for Lieutenant Governor.

There was no clear majority for any candidate for Governor and the election was thrown into the Legislature. The popular vote was as follows: Horace Eaton (Whig), 23,644; John Smith (Dem.), 17,877; Lawrence Brainerd (Free Soil), 7,118; scattering, 64. In joint assembly, Eaton was elected, receiving 136 votes, while Smith received 75, and Brainerd 11. In the Senate the vote was divided as follows: Whigs, 22; Democrats, 6; Free Soilers, 2. In the House, the division was: Whigs, 112; Democrats, 65; Free Soilers and scattering, 15. Two Whig Congressmen were elected. George P. Marsh of Burlington was chosen for another term by about nine hundred majority, and William Henry of Bellows Falls was elected as a new member. There was no choice in Mr. Collamer's district, but on a second trial he led by nearly two thousand votes, and was elected. Three elections were necessary in the Fourth district to choose Lucius B. Peck over Chandler, the Whig candidate. Ebenezer N. Briggs was reelected Speaker of the House.

Horace Eaton was born at Barnard, June 22, 1804. Removing to Enosburg with his parents while very young, he prepared for college at the St. Albans Academy, earned money by teaching school winters and graduated from Middlebury College in the class of 1825. He studied medicine with his father, and also at Castleton Medical College, where he graduated. He practiced medicine in Enosburg with his father, and later with a brother. He was Town Clerk for several years, representing Enosburg in the Legislature, 1829-30 and 1835-36, was a Senator from Franklin county in 1837, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1843, and was Lieutenant Governor from 1843 to 1846. He served two terms as Governor. Upon his retirement he was elected professor of natural history and chemistry in Middlebury College, holding that position until his death, July 4, 1855.

William Henry was born in Charlestown, N. H., March 22, 1783. He received a common school education, and engaged in business in Chester. Later he was interested in manufacturing enterprises in Vermont, Jaffrey, N. H., and New York. He removed to Bellows Falls in 1831, and for fifteen years was cashier of the Bank of Bellows Falls. He represented the town of Rockingham in the Legislature in 1834 and 1835, was a member of the first State Senate from Windham county in 1836, and was a Presidential Elector in 1840. He was a delegate to the Whig National Convention which nominated Harrison and Tyler, and served two terms in Congress. He was a Presidential Elector in

State House at Montpelier After Fire of 1857

1860, and visited Abraham Lincoln at his Illinois home. He died in Chester, Pa., April 16, 1861.

Lucius B. Peck was born in Waterbury, Vt., November 17, 1802, being the son of Gen. John Peck. After finishing a preparatory course he entered the United States Military Academy, where he remained one year, resigning on account of ill health. Having regained his health, he entered the law office of Samuel Prentiss at Montpelier. Later he studied in the office of Denison Smith at Barre, and was admitted to the bar in 1825. He formed a partnership with Mr. Smith and later removed to Montpelier. He soon built up a large practice in Washington and Orange counties and became one of the leading lawyers of Vermont, being arrayed against men like Paul Dillingham, William Upham and Jacob Collamer, in the trial of cases. He represented Barre in the Legislature of 1831, and Montpelier, in 1835 and 1837. He served two terms in Congress and was United States District Attorney under President Pierce, 1853-57. He then resumed his law practice, forming a partnership with B. F. Fifield. He was twice the Democratic candidate for Governor. In 1859 he was elected president of the Vermont & Canada Railroad Company, which position he held during the remainder of his life. He died in Lowell, Mass., December 28, 1866.

In his annual message, Governor Eaton protested against the charging of excessive interest to debtors. Referring to national issues, he said: "Against slavery itself as a system wrong in practice and wrong in principle, Vermont has taken the ground of irreconcilable hostility; and she must and will continue to maintain

it." He alluded to "a general prosperity, before unknown," resulting from the tariff act of 1842, and to "a blight wantonly thrown over this cheerful and gratifying prospect" by later tariff legislation.

The Legislature passed an act fixing the number of Supreme Court Judges at six. A liquor license law was enacted, providing that at each town meeting held in March a vote should be taken on the question whether licenses should or should not be granted for the sale of intoxicating liquor. If a majority of the votes of the entire State showed a license majority, then the Assistant Judges of the several county courts might grant licenses in accordance with the provisions of the act. Otherwise licenses might be granted for the sale of liquor only for medicinal, chemical and mechanical purposes. Licenses, good for one year, were fixed as follows: Grocers, two dollars; tavern keepers, three dollars to twenty dollars; retailers, six dollars to twenty dollars; wholesalers, twenty dollars to fifty dollars. The following resolutions were adopted: "Whereas, in our judgment the existing war with Mexico was not founded in any imperative necessity, such as may justify or excuse a Christian nation for resorting to arms, and has now manifestly become an offensive war against a neighboring republic; and, whereas, we have just grounds for anticipating that the territory which has been or may be occupied or conquered, will become slave territory, and, as such, claim admission to the Union; and whereas, its admission as such, and with a mixed population, degraded by ignorance and superstition, and allied to us neither in interests, character or language, will endanger

the harmony, welfare and perpetuity of the Union; therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, that the honor and best interests of the Nation will be subserved by a speedy end of the war with Mexico, and a settlement of all matters in dispute by arbitration or negotiation.

"Resolved, That Vermont will not give its countenance, aid or assent to the admission into the Federal Union of any new State whose constitution tolerates slavery; and does hereby appeal to each of her sister States to concur in its own name, in this declaration."

Congressman Foot, on January 10, 1847, argued for the Wilmot Proviso. This was an amendment to a bill appropriating two million dollars to enable the President to negotiate peace with Mexico, introduced by David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, providing that "as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted." Mr. Foot argued against the necessity of the war, expressing the belief that all our difficulties could have been settled without war with Mexico; and had war been necessary he thought it might have been carried on without doing violence to the Constitution. On the following day Mr. Dillingham opposed the extension of slavery, and favored the Wilmot Proviso. On February 22 Mr. Collamer opposed

the further prosecution of the war. All the Vermont members supported the Wilmot Proviso when it came to a vote on March 3, 1847.

Some anxiety was felt by persons opposing the licensing of the sale of liquor, concerning the result of the first vote, in the spring of 1847, as little had been done to educate the public, but the result was a substantial majority against license. As announced by the Secretary of State it was as follows: License, 13,707; no license, 21,798.

The Whig State Convention of 1847 renominated Governor Eaton and adopted the following resolution relating to the war: "Resolved, That, while the part taken by the Executive in originating the war without the knowledge of Congress, and the apparent unrighteous purpose for which it was undertaken, call for severe reprehension, we pledge him a hearty approval in every wise measure tending to a speedy and honorable peace."

The Democrats chose Paul Dillingham, Jr., of Waterbury as their candidate for Governor. A Native American ticket was nominated at Danville, July 6, headed by R. C. Benton of Lunenburg for Governor and Daniel P. Thompson of Montpelier for Lieutenant Governor. Both men are said to have declined to accept these nominations.

There was no choice for Governor in the State election, the vote being, Horace Eaton (Whig), 22,455; Paul Dillingham, Jr. (Dem.), 18,601; Lawrence Brainerd (Free Soil), 6,926; scattering, 98. Governor Eaton was reelected in joint assembly by the following vote:

Eaton, 125; Dillingham, 85; Brainerd, 19. The Legislature was divided as follows:Senate, Whigs, 21; Democrats, 9. House, Whigs, 105; Democrats, 79; Free Soilers, 20. Solomon Foot of Rutland, who had recently retired from Congress, once more was elected Speaker.

In his message to the Legislature Governor Eaton reported an improvement in the educational system of the State. He announced that legislative resolutions relating to slavery and the Mexican War, and forwarded to the several States, had been "returned forthwith" from Richmond in accordance with an act of the Legislature of Virginia. The Governor observed: "It is believed that Vermont has seen nothing in the progress of the contest (the war with Mexico) to change her sentiment, either in regard to the insufficiency of the grounds on which the war was commenced, or the unworthiness of the purpose for which it has been waged."

The Legislature authorized the Governor to appoint "the artist, B. F. Mason," to ascertain if an authentic likeness of Ethan Allen existed in Montreal, and if it did to obtain permission, if practicable, to copy the same for the State. The Governor also was directed to ascertain if any authentic likeness of Thomas Chittenden was in existence. There appears to have been in circulation a report that a likeness of Ethan Allen was to be found in a group picture in Montreal. This was altogether unlikely, as Ethan Allen probably was not in a mood to sit for a portrait during his enforced visit to Montreal as a prisoner, after failing to capture the city. So far as known no portrait of Ethan Allen ever was made. In

her old age, his daughter, Mrs. Samuel Hitchcock, declared that her son, Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, was a perfect image of her father. Somewhat later than this, a wooden statue of Allen was carved by B. H. Kinney and exhibited. A few old people who had seen Allen are said to have pronounced it a good likeness, but there is no record that the sculptor had any very definite idea as to the appearance of Ethan Allen. Apparently no portrait of Allen or Governor Chittenden was found.

The Governor was asked to make application to Congress for remuneration in the sum of $3,061.73, for money expended in defending the frontier towns during the Canadian insurrection. Charters were granted to the Woodstock Railroad Company, the Black River Railroad Company (from Perkinsville to connect with the Sullivan road), the Rutland and Washington Railroad Company (from Montpelier to Bradford, through Williamstown Gulf), the Vermont Telegraph Company and the Passumpsic Telegraph Company. A resolution was adopted commending a plan proposed for building a railroad from some point on Lake Michigan to the Pacific Coast.

At a Whig State Convention, held during the legislative session, these delegates were elected to the National Convention: At large, Solomon Foot of Rutland, Horace Everett of Windsor; district delegates, A. P. Lyman of Bennington, Hampden Cutts of Hartland, H. E. Royce of Berkshire and Portus Baxter of Derby.

In the assignment of Senate Committees in December, 1847, Senator Phelps was given places on Finance, Pensions and Indian Affairs. Senator Upham served on

the Committee on Manufactures. The House assignments were as follows: Collamer, chairman of Public Lands; Henry, Accounts, District of Columbia; Marsh, Foreign Affairs; Peck, Indian Affairs.

Senator Phelps, in a speech in the Senate, criticised President Polk for his "alarming assumption in power * * * in the origin and progress of the war." He discussed the war, which he desired to see brought to a close. George P. Marsh was appointed a member of a committee to attend the funeral of John Quincy Adams, and Speaker Winthrop also appointed him one of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

Senator Upham of Vermont, on March 1, 1847, offered an amendment to the Senate bill which provided an appropriation to enable the President to make peace with Mexico, the terms of which were similar to the Wilmot Proviso, and, according to Professor Burgess, in his history, "The Middle Period," "urged its adoption in a strong and convincing argument." Senator Cass of Michigan, however, supposed to be a supporter of the idea embodied in the Wilmot Proviso, opposed the Upham amendment as premature and calculated to embarrass the President in his negotiations with Mexico. The amendment was beaten by a vote of 31 to 21, the House accepting the Senate bill on the last day of the session, and the opportunity to keep slavery out of the Territories, which had seemed likely to be embodied in law, was lost.

The winter of 1847-48 was unusually mild. Violets were picked on New Year's Day, frogs were heard in January, and a live butterfly was found on February 4.

The number of patents issued to Vermonters from 1791 to 1847 was three hundred and ten, only nine States exceeding this number.

The official vote on licensing the sale of liquor in 1848 was as follows: License, 17,248; no license, 17,264; majority for license, 16.

The Democratic National Convention opened at Baltimore, May 22, 1848. The Vermont delegates were John S. Robinson of Bennington, Ira Davis of Norwich, Horace Clark of Middletown Springs, Levi B. Vilas of Chelsea, Thomas Bartlett, Jr., of Lyndon and Giles Harrington of Alburg. Ira Davis was chosen vice president for Vermont. On the first ballot, Vermont cast four votes for Lewis Cass and two for Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. There was no change on the second and third ballots, but on the fourth ballot the entire delegation voted for General Cass, who was nominated. Vermont's votes for a candidate for Vice President were cast on the first and second ballots for William O. Butler of Kentucky, the nominee of the convention.

At the Whig National Convention, held at Philadelphia, June 7, Horace Everett was vice president for Vermont. Portus Baxter was one of the secretaries and associated with him in this capacity were John Sherman of Ohio and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana. On the first three ballots Vermont cast one vote for Gen. Zachary Taylor of Louisiana and five for Henry Clay of Kentucky. On the fourth and final ballot, Vermont cast two votes each for Taylor, Clay and Gen. Winfield Scott. Millard Fillmore of New York was nominated for Vice President. As a military hero Taylor was a popular

candidate, but he was a slave holder and his nomination was rather coolly received in the North, especially among Anti-Slavery Whigs. The *Vermont Watchman* said: "Among all the Whigs named for that office (the Presidency) none could have been selected so unwelcome to us." Upon his return to Vermont, Horace Everett, one of the delegates-at-large, issued a card announcing his uncompromising hostility to the election of General Taylor. As the campaign progressed, however, practically all the Whigs fell into line for Taylor.

In the campaign of 1848 there was a division in the Democratic ranks, one faction, popularly called the Barnburners, favored the Wilmot Proviso, while those who opposed this measure were known as Old Hunkers. In reality it was a contest between Free Soil and old line Democrats. The former held a convention and nominated Martin Van Buren as its candidate for President. In this convention Vermont cast seven votes for Van Buren and eleven for John P. Hale of New Hampshire. Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans was one of the vice presidents of the convention. This factional contest showed itself in Vermont, the leaders of the Barnburner element including L. E. Chittenden of Burlington, E. D. Barber of Middlebury and S. S. Brown of St. Albans. Paul Dillingham, Jr., of Waterbury was renominated for Governor, and at first declined, as he was not altogether in sympathy with the Hunker or dominant element of the party, having voted for the Wilmot Proviso, but he finally accepted the nomination.

The Free Soil Democrats, or Barnburners, held a State Convention at Middlebury, and nominated Oscar

L. Shafter of Wilmington for Governor. Mr. Shafter, originally a Democrat, had been affiliated with the Liberty or Anti-Slavery party since its organization. Luke P. Poland of Morristown, a Judge of the Supreme Court and a Democrat, was nominated as a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and Edward A. Stansbury of Burlington, a Whig, was named for Treasurer. Horace Everett of Windsor and William Slade of Middlebury, two of the ablest Whig leaders in Vermont, were present. Several Democratic papers supported the Free Soil State and National tickets.

The Whig Convention, held at Woodstock, ratified the National ticket, Taylor and Fillmore, and nominated Carlos Coolidge of Windsor for Governor.

There was no choice for Governor in the September election, but the Free Soil Democrats polled more votes than the regulars. The official report showed the following result: Coolidge, 22,007; Shafter, 14,931; Dillingham, 13,420; scattering, 47. Coolidge was elected in the Legislature by one majority, the vote being as follows: Coolidge, 122; Shafter, 65; Dillingham, 54; scattering, 2. William C. Kittredge of Fair Haven (Whig) was elected Speaker on the forty-sixth ballot. William Henry (Whig) was reelected to Congress in the First district, but there was no choice in the Second, Third and Fourth districts. Later George P. Marsh (Whig) and Lucius B. Peck (Dem.) were reelected in the Third and Fourth districts, respectively, and William Hebard of Chelsea (Whig) was elected to succeed Jacob Collamer, who had declined to serve longer.

The Whig national ticket had a substantial lead in Vermont, the vote by counties for Taylor (Whig), Cass (Dem.) and Van Buren (Free Soil) being as follows:

	Taylor	*Cass*	*Van Buren*
Addison	2,558	319	1,035
Bennington	1,559	1,150	616
Caledonia	1,367	1,158	888
Chittenden	1,753	571	1,516
Essex	370	331	42
Franklin	1,456	694	1,204
Grand Isle	311	130	104
Lamoille	289	474	754
Orange	1,780	1,414	1,308
Orleans	1,056	562	536
Rutland	2,911	744	1,377
Washington	1,398	1,693	1,106
Windham	2,648	608	1,443
Windsor	3,656	1,103	1,908
Total	23,132	10,948	13,837

Taylor's plurality over Van Buren was 12,174 and over Cass, 9,285. Van Buren had a substantial lead over Cass. Van Buren led in Lamoille county, and Cass in Washington.

Carlos Coolidge was born at Windsor, Vt., June 25, 1792. After graduating from Middlebury College he studied law with Peter Starr of Middlebury, and afterward with Jonathan H. Hubbard of Windsor. He was admitted to the bar in 1814 and opened an office for the practice of law in his native town. He was State's

Attorney of Windsor county from 1831 to 1836, and was a member of the first board of Bank Commissioners appointed under the act of 1831. He represented Windsor in the Legislatures of 1834-36 and 1839-41, being Speaker of the House in 1836, 1839, 1840 and 1841. He was Senator from Windsor county, 1853-55, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850 and a Presidential Elector in 1844. He served two terms as Governor. He received the honorary degree of A. M. from the University of Vermont, in 1835, and that of LL.D. from Middlebury College in 1849. He died at his home in Windsor, August 15, 1866.

William Hebard was born at Windham, Conn., November 29, 1800. Removing to Randolph, Vt., at an early age, he attended the common schools, studied law with William Nutting at Randolph, was admitted to the bar and opened a law office at East Randolph. He was State's Attorney of Orange county, 1832-33 and 1836-37; represented Randolph in the Legislature in 1835 and 1840-42; removed to Chelsea and represented that town in 1858-59, 1864-65 and 1872; was a member of the State Senate in 1836 and 1838; was Judge of Probate for the Randolph district, 1838-39 and 1840-42; was Judge of the Supreme Court, 1842-44; and served two terms in Congress. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1860. He died at his home in Chelsea, October 22, 1875.

In his message to the Legislature Governor Coolidge said of Vermonters that "hostility to slavery is, in them, an instinct."

The Legislature passed an act providing that Presidential Electors and members of Congress should be chosen on the Tuesday next after the first Monday of November, in every fourth year, and every second year, respectively. Charters were granted to the Rutland and Whitehall Railroad Company; the Southern Vermont Railroad Company (from some point on the southern line of the State in Windham or Bennington counties to some point on the west line of the State in Bennington county); the Danville & Passumpsic Railroad Company (from Danville to Barnet); the Vermont Valley Railroad Company (from Brattleboro to connect with the Rutland and Burlington and Sullivan Railroads); the Vermont & Boston Telegraph Company; and the Troy & Canada Junction Telegraph Company; and the National Life Insurance Company, the list of incorporators of the last named company being headed by the name of Henry Clay.

A resolution adopted declared that Gen. Winfield Scott was "richly entitled to the admiration and thanks of his countrymen" for his achievements in the War of 1812 and in the Mexican War. Another resolution asserted that Congress possessed and ought to exercise the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories of New Mexico and California.

Senator Upham was reelected. The vote in the Senate was: William Upham (Whig), 18; Levi B. Vilas of Chelsea (Dem.), 5; scattering, 2. Three ballots were taken in the House and on the third ballot Senator Upham received 106 votes, just the number necessary for a choice. The other votes, 105 in number, are

reported as scattering, but some went to Mr. Vilas and others to Jacob Collamer.

An interesting feature of the legislative session of 1841 was the holding of exercises in honor of the acquisition of the brass cannon taken from the German, or Hessian, troops at Bennington, in 1777. These guns had been recaptured by the British when General Hull surrendered at Detroit, just thirty-five years after they came into General Stark's possession. The British commander had declared that he would have inscribed on them the words "Retaken from the Americans, August 16, 1812," but before this promise could be carried out they were captured by the Americans, when Fort George was taken. Becoming obsolete, they were discarded outside the Arsenal at Washington. Here they were found by Henry Stevens, the well known antiquarian, and a loyal Vermonter. After several ineffectual attempts to obtain them, Congressman Collamer introduced a resolution, July 3, 1848, providing for the return to Vermont of her brass field pieces captured at Bennington, supported it in a brief but forceful speech, and secured its unanimous adoption. The Senate concurred, the guns were forwarded to Vermont, and a suitable address was delivered at Montpelier by Rev. James Davie Butler of Wells River. Of the four guns taken at Bennington, the third was given to the town of New Boston, N. H., and the fourth was lost at sea from a New Hampshire privateer, during the War of 1812.

During the period of the famine in Ireland Vermont contributed $4,371.02 to the Irish relief fund. Public

meetings were held and committees appointed at town meetings to solicit funds. The Irish people of Montpelier and vicinity raised and forwarded to Ireland a fund of one thousand dollars.

The Whigs of the Vermont Legislature had recommended Jacob Collamer for the post of Attorney General in President Taylor's Cabinet. The name of Senator Phelps also had been suggested for the position. When the names of the new Cabinet were sent to the Senate it was found that Judge Collamer had been appointed Postmaster General. This appointment was gratifying to the people of Vermont and Democratic as well as Whig newspapers generally commended the President for his excellent choice. Mr. Collamer had just completed a term as Congressman, and on March 8 a large delegation of Vermonters, many of whom had come to Washington to attend the inauguration, called at his residence to congratulate him on his selection for a Cabinet position. In a brief speech he said the appointment was a compliment to the State rather than a reward of personal merit. He alluded to the burden of supervising seventeen thousand post-offices. Speaking in a facetious vein, he said an observatory recently had been erected in Washington, equipped with a powerful telescope. In closely scanning the Northern Constellation a star had been found hitherto unknown to the savants, small, indeed, but very brilliant and very beautiful. This was "the Star that never sets." In this way, said he, Vermont had been discovered by President Taylor, adding: "Ours is the only Whig State in the Union which has never swerved from her political faith, and almost the

only one which has never shared the patronage of the General Government." In the "Life of Thurlow Weed," a letter written by the New York political leader is quoted, in which he says: "The Postmaster General, Judge Collamer, to whom I was authorized to communicate the President's views (in favor of rotation in office), lost no time in appointing meritorious Whig Postmasters throughout the Union."

It was desired that George P. Marsh's great abilities should be utilized by the new administration, but Vermont having been honored in the person of Judge Collamer, it was not considered expedient to base Mr. Marsh's claims upon his Vermont residence, therefore the President's attention was directed to his accomplishments as a linguist and scholar, which fitted him admirably for a diplomatic position. Among the early foreign appointments of President Taylor was that of George Perkins Marsh to be United States Minister Resident to Turkey. Mr. Marsh resigned his seat in the House and James Meacham of Middlebury was elected his successor.

James Meacham was born at Rutland, August 16, 1810. Educated by a neighbor who became interested in his welfare, he graduated from Middlebury College, in the class of 1832. He taught in Castleton Seminary and St. Albans Academy, studied theology at Andover (Mass.) Seminary, and after two years as a tutor at Middlebury College, in 1838 was settled as pastor of the Congregational church at New Haven. In 1846 he returned to Middlebury College as professor of elocution and English literature. He served four terms in Con-

gress, and had been nominated for a fifth term, but died in Rutland, August 23, 1856.

The liquor license vote in the spring of 1849, as announced officially, was: For license, 11,371; against license, 23,816; no license majority, 12,445. Only Essex county gave a license majority.

In 1849 the Anti-Masonic agitation had subsided sufficiently to permit a revival of the Grand Lodge of Masons.

The newspapers of this period contained frequent allusions to Vermonters who were emigrating to California, called there by the discovery of gold and by the opportunities which the rapid development of that region afforded. Rev. Walter Colton, a native of Rutland, and a former Chaplain in the Navy, with an associate, established the first newspaper in California, *The Californian,* at Monterey in August, 1846. He was also the first American Alcalde, and is said to have erected the first school house in the State, and to have made the first public announcement in a newspaper of the discovery of gold in California. Frederick Billings, later of Woodstock, it is said, opened the first law office in San Francisco.

A Council of Censors was elected in 1848, the members being, Charles K. Williams of Rutland, Peter Starr of Middlebury, Keyes P. Cool of Bennington, David Crawford of Putney, Salmon F. Dutton of Cavendish, William Hebard of Chelsea, Henry F. Janes of Waterbury, James Bell of Walden, Augustus Burt of Sheldon, Ira H. Allen of Irasburg, Henry Stowell of Cambridge, John Dewey of Guildhall, and John Pomeroy of Burling-

ton. Among the amendments proposed were: One Representative for each town having fewer than 2,500 inhabitants; two for each town having a population of 2,500, and for every 1,500 inhabitants in excess of 2,500, one additional Representative. Assistant Judges, Sheriffs, State's Attorneys, Judges and Registrars of Probate, and Justices of the Peace were to be elected by the freemen, Senators to be at least thirty years old to be eligible, and constitutional amendments were to be adopted by a referendum. A Constitutional Convention, which met January 2, 1850, to consider the fifteen proposals of amendment, adopted ten of them including the election of county officers and Justices of the Peace by popular vote. Thomas Bartlett, Jr., of Lyndon was president of the convention.

Early in the year 1849 the possibility of a combination between Free Soilers, who had supported Van Buren the previous year, and the regular Democrats, was discussed in the State press. A coalition ticket was nominated, composed of Anti-Slavery men, with Horatio Needham of Bristol for Governor, Daniel Roberts, Jr., of Manchester, for Lieutenant Governor, and Joseph Poland of Montpelier for Treasurer. This coalition caused much excitement, which extended beyond the borders of Vermont. The *New York Tribune* said: "It (the coalition) is formidable and an extraordinary effort will be required to defeat it. Sweeping into the dragnet men of the most extreme contrariety of opinions —the ultra-Abolitionists—and the ultra-opponents of Abolition—the supporters of Birney and the zealous adherents of Polk—it is quite possible, should all the screws

hold as calculated and stipulated, that they may even carry Vermont away from herself."

Not a few Democrats were dissatisfied with the coalition. The *Burlington Sentinel* complained that "every distinctive principle of the Democratic party was abandoned, while every principle of the Free Soil organization was adopted. Democrats of the old stamp were allowed no candidate on the State ticket, were scarcely recognized in the organization of the convention or in the appointment of the various committees. Their name, even, was taken away from them and that of the Free Soilers substituted." Several county conventions of regular Democrats were held and later a State Convention nominated a ticket headed by Gen. Jonas Clark of Middletown Springs.

The Whig Convention, held on July 4, renominated Governor Coolidge. An active campaign followed. If the Free Soilers and Democrats could hold their followers in line their prospects were good for carrying the State. The Whigs were alarmed, and secured Horace Greeley for a series of rallies. The coalition, however, was not quite effective. The regular Democrats polled enough votes for a third ticket to prevent Needham's election. The result was: Coolidge, 26,238; Needham, 23,250; Clark, 3,357; scattering, 26. The vote cast was very heavy, being nearly as large as that in the strenuous Harrison and Tyler campaign of 1840. There being no choice on the popular vote, the Legislature reelected Governor Coolidge, the vote being as follows: Coolidge, 149; Needham, 90; Clark, 8. William C. Kittredge was reelected Speaker.

In his message Governor Coolidge announced that under the authority of an act passed the preceding year, he had appointed as commissioners to prepare a general measure regulating and governing all railroad corporations, Charles K. Williams of Rutland, Lucius B. Peck of Montpelier and Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury. Concerning slavery, he said: "It being evil, and only evil, these hearts will never find rest until all shall have been done for the extinction of it that man may rightfully do. It would appear, perhaps, to all the rest of the civilized world, merely supererogatory in Vermont to reiterate what she has so often and so emphatically declared, her unrelenting hostility to the bondage of human beings. But it is fit—nay more, it is our duty—as a State and as a people to make every leading public occasion commemorative of our sentiment and purpose in respect of this highest national crime."

The Legislature passed a general railroad act, and indulged again in one of its favorite pastimes, remodeling the Supreme Court. This time it constituted a court consisting of one Chief Judge and two Assistant Judges, who were to be assigned to four judicial circuits. Articles of incorporation were adopted for the Montpelier & Connecticut River Railroad Company; the Ascutney Railroad Company (from some point on the Connecticut River to some point in Chester or Cavendish); the Rutland & Burlington Railroad Company; and the Franklin County Steamboat Company. Several plank road companies were also incorporated.

A resolution was adopted, earnestly recommending the establishment of a Bureau of Agriculture in the Depart-

ment of the Interior. It was also declared, "That the brave and patriotic people of Hungary are entitled to our warmest sympathy in their unsuccessful struggle for the liberty of their country against the despots of Austria and Russia." Another resolution adopted asserted "that the peaceful annexation of Canada to the United States with the consent of the British Government and of the people of Canada, and upon just and honorable terms, is an object in the highest degree desirable to the people of the United States." Very likely the earnest foes of slavery saw in Canadian annexation a method of checkmating the slave power in its triumphant policy of Texan annexation. The declaration against slavery, which had become an annual custom, was as follows: "Resolved, That slavery is a crime against humanity, and a sore evil in the body politic, that was excused by the framers of the Federal Constitution as a crime entailed upon the country by their predecessors, and tolerated solely as a thing of inexorable necessity." Senators and Representatives were requested "to support every just and prudent measure for the exclusion of slavery from the District of Columbia; for the entire suppression of the slave trade on the high seas, and generally to relieve the Federal Government from all responsibility for the existence, maintenance or tolerance of slavery or the traffic in slaves."

Early in 1850 Congressman Peck was made chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, a position held with honor by another Vermonter, Rollin C. Mallary. Senator Upham, on January 8, 1850, presented resolutions adopted by the Vermont Legislature on the subject of

slavery and moved that they be printed. Senator Yulee of Florida objected. He considered the language more insulting than that contained in any resolutions ever before presented to that body. Senator Phelps of Vermont followed in a strong and able defence of the attitude of his State, temperate in its language, but forceful in its arguments. He regretted that the subject could not be disposed of in a spirit of conciliation and good feeling; but the Vermont resolutions, "instead of being made the subject of reproach, should be treated as the sentiments of the civilized world." The *New York Courier and Enquirer,* of which James Watson Webb was editor, said of Senator Phelps' speech: "The Senate has seldom been gratified with an effort of greater power, or one in which its whole temper and scope exhibited higher qualities of intellect. * * * He succeeded in obtaining the attention of the Senate and crowded galleries for more than two hours, and in impressing the conviction that few, if any, on the floor were equal to cope with masterly arguments which he advanced. Such an effort would have excited admiration in the Supreme Court, with John Marshall on the bench. * * * If he had done nothing else to establish his fame as a jurist and statesman, this speech would be sufficient to place him in the front rank of the Senate. It deserves to be read and preserved as one of the ablest expositions of the constitutional power of Congress to govern the territories of the United States that ever has been delivered in Congress."

Resolutions of Henry Clay, and other Senators, relating to slavery, on April 18, 1850, were referred to a select

committee of thirteen, of which Senator Clay was chairman, made up, aside from the Kentucky statesman, of equal numbers from the North and the South. These members were Webster of Massachusetts, Phelps of Vermont, Cooper of Pennsylvania, Cass of Michigan, Dickinson of New York, Bright of Indiana, King of Alabama, Mason of Virginia, Downs of Louisiana, Mangum of North Carolina, Bell of Tennessee, and Berrien of Georgia. Senator Phelps asked to be excused on account of his condition of health, and because he felt that the only result possible would be no more than an expression of opinion on the part of members of the committee; that the whole proceeding would be unsatisfactory to the Senate and the country. Mr. Webster urged him to remain and he left the matter to the Senate for decision, that body declining to excuse him. The fact that the members of this committee were chosen by ballot, and that they had to consider the subject of slavery in the territories, and the various compromise measures proposed by Mr. Clay, adds to the importance of the choice of the Vermont Senator. The work of the committee as a whole, however, probably was not of a nature to commend it to the Senator's constituents, although he was an active opponent of slavery. Rhodes, in his "History of the United States," says that Phelps was the only advocate of the Wilmot Proviso on the Committee of Thirteen.

Senator Upham in a long speech, opposed the compromise bill, asserting that he could vote for no measure which failed in express terms to secure freedom to the Territories. Congressman Hebard protested against the

talk of the possibility of dissolving the Union. Congressman Peck supported a bill admitting California with a provision against slavery. Shortly before the death of President Taylor, charges were made against the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War regarding the payment of a long disputed claim, and he determined to reorganize his Cabinet, discussing the matter with Thurlow Weed.

Mr. Weed in describing this episode said there was no occasion for changing Mr. Ewing and Mr. Collamer, but the President had determined to offer them diplomatic appointments, desiring a thorough reorganization of his official advisers. He considered the position of Secretary of the Treasury by far the most important in the Cabinet, and he was particularly anxious to find for this position a man "of inflexible and proverbial firmness and integrity, and one sound and reliable in reference to the protective tariff." Among the men considered, according to Mr. Weed, were Governor Davis of Massachusetts, Horace Everett of Vermont, Messrs. Cooper and McKinnon of Pennsylvania and Vinton of Ohio, "all perfectly competent and reliable." Were it not for Mr. Weed's intimate associations with President Taylor, the consideration of the name of Mr. Everett of Vermont would seem almost incredible, when it is considered that he bolted Taylor's nomination and had shown an inclination to stray from the Whig fold in Vermont. The President, however, was associating himself more closely with anti-slavery men, at this time, and the hostility of leaders like Mr. Everett, who were strongly opposed to slavery, naturally grew less active,

as his policy developed. Mr. Weed had expressed his admiration for the ability of Mr. Everett and if the Vermonter was considered for the Cabinet, the fact was due, no doubt, to the influence of the New York politician. The death of President Taylor gave the task of Cabinet reorganization into the hands of Vice President Millard Fillmore, whose father had removed from Bennington a short time before the birth of the future President.

The vote on the licensing of the sale of liquor, as expressed in the Vermont town meetings in the spring of 1850, was as follows: For license, 12,606; against license, 19,910. Two counties, Essex and Washington, gave license majorities.

Very heavy rains, which began to fall on July 14, 1850, caused disastrous floods, although not as serious as the freshet of 1830. The new railroad lines suffered much damage.

The Whig State Convention of 1850 nominated former Chief Judge Charles K. Williams of Rutland for Governor and Norman Williams of Woodstock for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Williams declined the honor and the name of his townsman, Julius Converse, was substituted.

The Democratic-Free Soil coalition dropped the Free Soil title at its State Convention, but retained one of the anti-slavery candidates of the previous year, Joseph Poland, for Treasurer. Congressman Lucius B. Peck was nominated for Governor. The candidate of the old line Democrats for Governor was John Roberts of Townshend.

Judge Williams was elected by a small majority, the vote being, Williams, 24,483; Peck, 18,956; Roberts, 4,142; scattering, 26.

There was no election for Congressman in the First district. Congressmen Hebard and Meacham, both Whigs, were elected in the Second and Third districts, respectively. In the Fourth district, Thomas Bartlett, Jr., of Lyndon was elected by a coalition Democratic and Free Soil vote. At a later election, Ahiman L. Miner (Whig) of Manchester was elected to represent the First district.

As the term of Senator S. S. Phelps expired in 1851, it became the duty of the Legislature of 1850 to choose a successor. On the fourth ballot Solomon Foot of Rutland was chosen, the vote being, Foot, 114; Charles Linsley of Middlebury, 61; Oscar L. Shafter of Wilmington, 18; David A. Smalley of Burlington, 14; S. S. Phelps of Middlebury, 7; scattering, 6. Senator Phelps received 17 votes on the first ballot. On the third ballot his name was withdrawn, although he received a few votes on the fourth. Mr. Foot had had Congressional experience in the House of Representatives. The *Vermont Watchman* observed that he was succeeding "the ablest man intellectually in the Senate."

Charles Kilbourn Williams was the son of Rev. Samuel Williams, one of the ablest men who ever served Vermont. He was born in Cambridge, Mass., January 24, 1782, and came to Rutland, Vt., with the Williams family in 1790. He graduated from Williams College in the class of 1800, studied law with Cephas Smith of Rutland, and was admitted to the bar in 1803. He was

appointed a tutor at Williams College in 1802 and received a similar offer from Middlebury College a short time thereafter, but declined both appointments. He served in one campaign on the northern frontier during the War of 1812. He represented Rutland in the Legislature in 1809, 1811, 1814-15, 1820-21 and in 1849. He was State's Attorney of Rutland county, 1813-15; Judge of the Supreme Court, 1822-23 and 1829-45, being Chief Judge from 1834 to 1845; Collector of Customs, 1826-30; member of the Council of Censors, 1848; and in 1827 was appointed member of a State Commission to supervise the common school system. He served two terms as Governor. He received the degree of A. M. from Williams and Middlebury Colleges and the degree of LL. D. from Middlebury College. He was a member of the Middlebury corporation from 1827 to 1843, and at the time of his death was president of the Society of the Alumni of Williams College. He died at Rutland, March 9, 1853.

Ahiman L. Miner was born at Middletown, September 23, 1804, and worked on his father's farm until he was twenty-one years old. He then prepared for college, but changed his plans and studied law at Poultney and Rutland. He was admitted to the bar in 1832 and practiced his profession at Wallingford for two years, then removed to Manchester. He represented Manchester in the Legislature in 1838-39, 1846, 1853, 1861 and 1865-68. He was a Senator from Bennington county in 1840; was Clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives from 1836 to 1838; State's Attorney for Bennington county, 1843-45 and 1863-66; Register of Probate

for seven years and Judge of Probate, 1846-49. He served one term in Congress. His death occurred at Manchester, July 19, 1886.

Thomas Bartlett, Jr., was born in Burke, June 18, 1810. He attended the public schools, studied law, was admitted to the bar and in 1833 opened an office at Groton. In 1839 he removed to Lyndon. He was State's Attorney for Caledonia county, 1839-40, and 1841-42; State Senator, 1841-42; member of the Legislature from Lyndon, 1850; member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1850 and 1857; and served one term in Congress. He died at Lyndon, September 12, 1876.

In his annual message, Governor Williams referred to the benefit which the people of the State were experiencing from the building of railways in Vermont. Referring to the injury resulting from the tariff reduction of 1846, he said: "With us at least, there should be no diversity of thought or action on the subject of a protective tariff." He also protested against the evils of slavery.

During the session the Legislature incorporated the Missisquoi Railroad Company (to extend from some point on the Vermont and Canada Railroad to connect with the Passumpsic Railroad), and the Vermont Northeastern Railroad Company (from Barnet up the Connecticut River valley to connect with the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad in Essex county). Numerous plank road companies were chartered during this session.

Resolutions were adopted, expressing hostility to slavery, saying in part: "Wherever there is a foot of

soil to be staid back from becoming slave territory, we will insist upon the protection of such soil by legislative prohibition." The Fugitive Slave Law was condemned as a measure "opposed to the great principles of civil liberty." The resolution declared, "That as Vermont was the first State to seek admission to the Union, so she will be the last to forget its benefits, or be wanting in efforts to promote its prosperity and its permanence. Whoever may deem lightly of it, she will honor it; whoever may assail, she will vindicate it; whoever may desert, she will abide by it." Resolutions were adopted, favoring a protective tariff and asking for a modification of the existing revenue law. Another resolution suggested that the President propose to all nations "the establishment of a permanent board to settle all international disputes or claims." The death of President Taylor was deplored, this event being referred to as "a great national calamity."

According to custom, copies of resolutions relating to national topics adopted by the General Assembly were transmitted to the Legislatures of the several States. By a vote of 123 to 0, the Virginia House of Delegates requested the Governor of that State to return to the Governor of Vermont the resolution relating to the promotion of peace, declaring that "the Legislature of Virginia declines to consider the resolutions from the Legislature of Vermont, relative to the peace of the world until that body shall show itself careful of the peace of the Union, by conforming to the enactments of the Constitution of the United States and laws passed in pursuance thereof." The attitude of Vermont toward the

Fugitive Slave Law continued to excite savage criticism on the part of the friends and defenders of slavery. Vermont was one of the most aggressive foes of this Southern institution.

According to the census of 1850 Vermont had a population of 314,120, ranking twenty-third in the list of States. This represented a gain of 22,172, or 7.6 per cent, compared with a gain of 11,296, or 4 per cent in 1840. This population consisted of 160,123 males and 154,181 females. There were 718 free persons of color in the State. Burlington was easily the largest town in the State, having made a substantial gain during the decade. Bennington ranked second; Brattleboro, third; and Rutland, fourth. The most populous towns with a population in excess of 2,500, are given herewith: Burlington, 7,585; Bennington, 3,923; Brattleboro, 3,816; Rutland, 3,715; St. Albans, 3,567; Middlebury, 3,517; Woodstock, 3,041; Castleton, 3,016; Newbury, 2,984; Northfield, 2,922; Rockingham, 2,837; Brandon, 2,835; Swanton, 2,824; St. Johnsbury, 2,758; Georgia, 2.686; Randolph, 2,666; Highgate, 2,653; Fairfield, 2,591; Danville, 2,577; Colchester, 2,575; Barnet, 2,521; Springfield, 2,162.

The population by counties was as follows:

Addison	26,549
Bennington	18,589
Caledonia	23,595
Chittenden	29,036
Essex	4,650
Franklin	28,586
Grand Isle	4,145

Daniel P. Thompson,
Author of "The Green Mountain Boys" and other Historical Novels

Lamoille	10,872
Orange	27,296
Orleans	15,707
Rutland	33,059
Washington	24,654
Windham	29,062
Windsor	38,320

There were gains in twelve of the fourteen counties, the largest being in Chittenden county, and exceeding 6,000. Orange county reported a slight decrease in population, but Windsor showed a loss of more than 2,000.

There were in Vermont 29,763 farms, 2,601,409 acres of improved and 1,524,413 acres of unimproved land. The total value of farms was $78,749,737, the value of land and buildings being $63,367,227. The average value per acre was $19.09. The total value of live stock was $12,643,228. There were in the State 146,128 milch cows, 154,143 horses, 1,014,122 sheep and 66,296 swine. The State made in the census year of 1850, 12,137,980 pounds of butter; 8,720,834 pounds of cheese; and produced 3,400,717 pounds of wool. The production of staple crops was as follows: Corn, 2,032,396 bu.; wheat, 535,955 bu.; oats, 2,307,734 bu.; barley, 42,150 bu.; rye, 176,233 bu.; buckwheat, 209,819 bu.; field beans, 104,649 bu.; potatoes, 4,951,017 bu.; hay, 866,153 tons; orchard products (value), $315,255; flax, 20,852 lbs.; hops, 288,023 lbs.; silk in cocoons, 260 lbs. (statistics appear only for 1840 and 1850); maple sugar, 6,349,357 lbs.; maple syrup, 5,697 gallons; honey (and beeswax), 249,420 lbs.

Vermont's rank among the States of the Union in live stock and agricultural products was as follows: Milch cows, sixteenth; other cattle, nineteenth; working oxen, seventeenth; horses, nineteenth; sheep, seventh; swine, twenty-sixth; pounds of butter, sixth (surpassed by New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana); pounds of cheese, third; pounds of wool, fourth; value of live stock, fifteenth (first in New England); value of farms, eighteenth; corn, twenty-third; wheat, eighteenth; oats, seventeenth; barley, twelfth; rye, twelfth; buckwheat, eighth; beans, fourteenth; potatoes, fourth; hay, fourth; orchard products, tenth; flax, fifteenth; hops, second (surpassed by New York); silk in cocoons, tenth; maple sugar, second (New York first); honey, seventeenth.

There were in Vermont in 1850, 1,849 manufacturing establishments, with an invested capital of $5,001,377, producing goods valued at $8,570,920, and employing 8,445 hands. There were 72 woolen mills, employing 1,393 wage earners and producing goods valued at $1,579,161; 9 cotton mills, employing 241 wage earners, and manufacturing goods valued at $280,300. The value of other manufactured products was as follows: Boot and shoe establishments, $343,353; paper mill products, $252,370; agricultural implements, $133,355; bar, sheet and railroad iron, $117,050; pig iron mills, $80,000. The value of home manufactured products was $267,710.

There were in Vermont in 1850, 7 agricultural implement makers, 3 bell and brass founders, 3 brewers and distillers, 2 button makers, 126 engineers, 14 glass manu-

facturers, 22 gunsmiths, 3 hardware manufacturers, 51 hat and cap manufacturers, 76 iron founders, 213 machinists, 2 wax makers, 5 nail manufacturers, 7 piano forte and musical instrument makers, 60 quarrymen, 37 sash and blind makers, 18 saw makers, 10 starch manufacturers, 265 stone and marble cutters, 4 stove makers, 273 tanners and curriers, 8 powder manufacturers, 138 printers, 3 whip makers, 18 woodenware manufacturers, 163 railroad men, 4 architects, 1 author, 8 bankers, 2 civil engineers, 619 clergymen, 17 editors, 508 innkeepers, 494 lawyers, 623 physicians, 9 sculptors, 5 surgeons, 12 surveyors, 4 telegraph operators and 1 veterinarian. There were in the State 36 newspapers, of which 2 were daily papers, and 15 of a literary character. The circulation of the dailies amounted to 550 and of the weeklies, to 41,206. The political affiliation of the newspapers was as follows: Whig, 14; Democratic, 7. Vermont had 96 libraries, containing 64,641 volumes. There were 30 public libraries containing 21,061 volumes. The census figures give the following number of churches in Vermont in 1850: Congregational, 175; Methodist, 140; Baptist, 102; Union, 76; Universalist, 38; Episcopal, 26; Presbyterian, 11; Christian, 9; Roman Catholic, 8; Friends, 7; Unitarian, 2; Free, 1; minor sects, 1. The total number returned was 599 and the value of church property was given as $1,216,125.

There were in 1850, 2,789 public schools, with 4,204 teachers and 94,795 pupils; 95 academies and private schools, with 272 teachers, and 6,231 pupils; and 5 colleges (including two medical institutions, with 30 teachers and 464 students). The average monthly

wages of a farmhand amounted to $13. The average daily wage of a laborer with board was 72 cents and without board was 97 cents. There were 1,879 paupers in the State June 1, 1850, and 105 criminals in prison.

At the World's Fair, held in London, Vermonters exhibited native woods, birdseye maple, veneers, black and white marble, slate pencils, flour, maple sugar, silk handkerchiefs and mill cloths. Hiram Powers, a Vermonter, was awarded a medal for his famous statue, "The Greek Slave"; Zadock Thompson received a medal for his specimens of wood; L. Dean of Manchester and W. Barnes of Rutland were awarded medals for maple sugar; and Robbins and Lawrence of Windsor received honorable mention for an exhibit of military rifles. These rifles, made for the United States Government, attracted so much attention that the British Government sent a commissioner to this country to investigate the methods of manufacture.

The growing strength of the anti-slavery movement in the North was shown in the election of Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio to the United States Senate. There were evidences in Vermont of dissatisfaction with the attitude of President Fillmore's administration toward slavery, and criticism of Daniel Webster's position relative to the Fugitive Slave Law. In a speech delivered at Annapolis, Md., in 1851, Mr. Webster referred to States "which have sought by ingenious contrivances of State legislation, by roundabout and crooked courses of policy, to thwart the just operation and fulfilment of the laws of Congress, passed to carry into effect the compacts of the

Constitution." It was supposed at the time that the orator referred to acts of the Vermont, Massachusetts and Ohio Legislatures. There were many Free Soil Democrats in Vermont but the faction which generally controlled party action did not break away from the sentiment of the party throughout the Union. At a meeting held at White River Junction, February 20, 1851, Lewis Cass of Michigan was recommended as a proper candidate for President in 1852 and resolutions were passed declaring that "popular sovereignty and equal rights are the fundamental doctrines of Democracy. In this Union the States are independent sovereignties and among other questions, that of slavery must be settled by each State in its own way."

Nor were the Whigs a unit in favor of the vigorous resolutions and radical measures adopted by the Vermont Legislature. Senator Phelps wrote a Virginian, apologizing for the Vermont act relating to the national Fugitive Slave Law, which, he thought had been hurried through the General Assembly, and, in his judgment, did not represent the sentiments of the people of Vermont. While there was, doubtless, some opposition on the part of the more conservative class to this radical Vermont law, the general sentiment in Vermont was so strongly opposed to slavery that it was ready to approve almost any measure that would impede its extension. Strictly speaking, Vermont was open to criticism for making difficult the enforcement of a national law, but that law was considered an evil and barbarous measure, a blow at the spirit of freedom. It was an exhibition of the

attitude shown at different periods in many lands, toward odious and unjust laws.

The regular Democratic State Convention was held at Burlington in May, 1851, and nominated John S. Robinson of Bennington for Governor. The platform declared, "That the late 'adjustment measures' of Congress, dictated not by the South or the North, but passed in a spirit of patriotic concession by both, have now become a pledge of fidelity of the several States to each other, and should be observed by all with the obedience which is due to the Nation's will, and with that good faith which is requisite for the Nation's safety."

The Free Democrats held a mass convention at Burlington and nominated Lucius B. Peck for Governor, Ryland Fletcher for Lieutenant Governor and D. P. Thompson for Treasurer. Mr. Peck declined the nomination and Timothy P. Redfield of Montpelier was named in his stead.

The Whig Convention, held at Bellows Falls, June 25, unanimously voted to renominate Governor Williams. Justin S. Morrill of Strafford, for the Resolutions Committee, reported the platform. One plank was as follows: "Resolved, That the enactment familiarly known as the Fugitive Slave Law is, in our opinion, a matter of ordinary legislation, open at all times and on all occasions to discussion, and liable to be modified or repealed at the pleasure of the people as expressed through their representatives; that it is justly objectionable in some of its provisions, and while we cheerfully admit our obligation to obey it, as a law of the land, designed to fulfil a requirement of the Constitution, we equally insist upon

our right to use all lawful means to secure such modifications of it as time and experience may demonstrate to be proper."

Governor Williams was reelected, receiving a majority of 997 votes. The report of the canvassing committee was as follows: Williams, 22,676; Redfield, 14,950; Robinson, 6,686; scattering, 43. Thomas E. Powers of Woodstock was reelected Speaker. In his annual message, Governor Williams suggested that a revision of the criminal code was desirable, and called attention to the benefit that might arise from opportunities for some useful work in jails, which would enable the prisoners to earn something toward the payment of fines and costs. The Governor seems to have been in advance of his time in another matter of prison reform, as he advocated the employment of prisoners in certain instances outside of the prison walls. He referred at length to the criticisms made by other States concerning Vermont's attitude toward the Fugitive Slave Law. He declared that as early as 1786 it was necessary to pass a law to prevent the transportation of free persons out of the State to be sold as slaves. He could see no good reason why an inquiry should not be had to determine whether a person was or was not arrested or imprisoned by lawful authority. Communications from Virginia and North Carolina were so disrespectful and offensive that he was unwilling to transmit them to the Legislature unless a specific request should be made for them. The Governor announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection.

A banking act was passed by the Legislature. The State Treasurer was directed to cause bank notes to be engraved and printed to be issued by incorporated banks of the State, as a measure to guard against counterfeiting. As a result of the more rapid growth of other States, Vermont's Congressional representation was reduced to three members, and the State was divided into districts, as follows: First district, Bennington, Rutland, Addison and Washington counties; Second district, Caledonia, Orange, Windham and Windsor counties; Third district, Essex, Orleans, Franklin, Lamoille, Grand Isle and Chittenden counties. Articles of incorporation were granted to the Midland Railroad Company (from Montpelier through Lamoille and Franklin counties to Swanton Falls), the New York and Bennington Railroad Company (from Bennington to the Massachusetts border to connect with another road); the Swanton and Highgate Railroad Company; the Wantastiquet Railroad Company (from Brattleboro through the West River valley to connect with the Western Vermont Railroad in Danby or Wallingford, or to some point connecting with the Rutland and Burlington Railroad in Ludlow or Mount Holly); the Northern Telegraph Company (from Rutland to Boston); the Champlain Steamboat Company, and several plank road companies. Senators and Representatives in Congress were requested to use all proper exertions "to secure the effectual suppression" of the slave trade carried on under the American flag. A resolution of welcome was also extended to Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot.

On October 16, soon after the Legislature convened, a Whig Convention was held which elected as delegates-at-large to the Whig National Convention in 1852, Justin S. Morrill of Strafford and Harry Bradley of Burlington. The district delegates chosen were Isaac T. Wright of Castleton, Carlos Coolidge of Windsor, William Nash of New Haven and H. H. Reed of Montpelier. During the year Hiland Hall was appointed a commissioner to settle land claims in California, and Edward J. Phelps, son of Ex-Senator S. S. Phelps, was appointed Second Comptroller of the Treasury, to succeed Mr. Hall.

Late in December, 1851, Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, came to Washington, and on January 8, 1852, he met the Vermont delegation in Congress at Brown's Hotel, when Congressman Hebard, on behalf of the delegation, presented the resolution adopted by the Vermont Legislature. In his speech Mr. Hebard said: "The people of Vermont claim the honor of having been the first to resist the encroachments of tyrannical power upon popular rights; her soil drank the first drop of Revolutionary blood that was spilt in defence of those inalienable rights for which our Revolutionary fathers contended against the usurpations of the British crown, and which resulted in the independence of the American colonies; and the people of Vermont, ever among the foremost to recognize the principle of popular government and popular rights, were the first, through their Senate and House of Representatives to bid you welcome." A letter from Governor Williams was read, expressing a desire to welcome the distinguished visitor

to Vermont. Kossuth replied at some length, thanking the Governor and the people of the State for their greeting, and saying that if time and other engagements permitted it would give him pleasure to visit the State.

At the Whig National Convention of 1852, which opened on June 16, Vermont's vote on the first ballot was as follows: Daniel Webster, 3; President Fillmore, 1; Gen. Winfield Scott, 1. There was no substantial change until the fifty-third ballot, when Webster and Fillmore delegates from Vermont and other New England States went to Scott, and nominated him. For a Vice Presidential candidate Vermont, on the first ballot, cast 3 votes for William A. Graham of North Carolina and 1 vote for Edward L. Bates of Missouri. On the second ballot all the Vermont votes went to Graham, who was nominated. George T. Hodges of Rutland was chosen as the Vermont member of the Whig National Committee. Justin S. Morrill was one of the secretaries of the convention.

The Whig State Convention nominated Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury for Governor. The regular Democrats nominated John S. Robinson of Bennington and the candidate of the Free Soil Democrats was Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans.

Fairbanks lacked 315 votes of the number required to elect, the official returns being as follows: Fairbanks, 25,795; Robinson, 14,938; Brainerd, 9,446; scattering, 20. Fairbanks was elected in joint assembly, receiving 117 votes, 61 being cast for Robinson and 40 for Brainerd. In the Senate there were 20 Whigs, 7 Democrats and 3 Free Soilers. In the House there were 103 Whig

members and 91 in the opposition. Thomas E. Powers of Woodstock was reelected Speaker on the twenty-fourth ballot over Bradley Barlow of Fairfield (Dem.) and Horatio Needham of Bristol (Free Soil).

James Meacham (Whig) was reelected to Congress from the First district, and Andrew Tracy of Woodstock (Whig) was chosen in the Second district. There was no election in the Third district, Alvah Sabin (Whig) leading Henry Adams (Dem.) and A. J. Rowell (Free Soil). Mr. Sabin was elected later.

The Presidential election of 1852 resulted in an overwhelming Democratic victory. General Scott received the electoral votes of only four States, Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee, a total of 42, while Pierce received 254. The two great Whig leaders, Clay and Webster, died before election day and the Whig party itself was near its end.

Vermont's vote by counties for Scott (Whig), Pierce (Dem.) and Hale (Free Soil) was as follows:

	Scott	*Pierce*	*Hale*	*Scattering*
Addison	2,041	378	642	33
Bennington	1,388	1,150	181	..
Caledonia	1,673	1,480	487	..
Chittenden	1,672	803	908	..
Essex	467	382	16	..
Franklin	1,675	1,211	526	..
Grand Isle	295	186	31	..
Lamoille	393	562	689	..
Orange	1,799	1,555	753	..
Orleans	1,199	859	308	..

Rutland	2,758	938	773	5
Washington	1,402	1,231	1,217	..
Windham	2,053	881	986	14
Windsor	3,358	1,528	1,105	..
Total	22,173	13,044	8,621	52

Pierce did not carry a single county, but Hale had a plurality in Lamoille. The Presidential Electors chosen were Portus Baxter of Derby, Alanson P. Lyman of Bennington, Ezekiel P. Walton of Montpelier, Edward Kirkland of Brattleboro and Samuel Adams of Grand Isle.

Erastus Fairbanks, who assumed the duties of Governor, was born at Brimfield, Mass., October 28, 1792. He was educated in the common schools, taught school, and came to Vermont about the year 1812. He began the study of law in the office of his uncle, Ephraim Paddock of St. Johnsbury, but a weakness of the eyes compelled him to abandon his law books. He entered the mercantile business at Wheelock, later conducted stores at East St. Johnsbury and Barnet, and returned to St. Johnsbury to engage in the manufacture of stoves and plows with his brother, Thaddeus. In 1829 Fairbanks Brothers added a new line of business, the purchase and preparation of hemp. As the method of weighing was inaccurate and unsatisfactory the brothers invented a platform scale. The demand for scales was so great that other lines of business were abandoned. Thaddeus perfected the invention, Erastus furnished the business ability to place the industry on a firm financial basis, and it became not only one of Vermont's greatest manu-

facturing concerns, but the greatest of its kind in the world. From 1836 to 1839, inclusive, Erastus Fairbanks represented St. Johnsbury in the Legislature. In 1848 he was chosen a Presidential Elector. He was elected Governor in 1860, and was the first of Vermont's Civil War Governors. He was active in the construction of the Passumpsic Railroad Company and for many years was its president. He was also a prominent member of the corporation that constructed the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. For fifteen years he was president of the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society, and for many years was a member of the corporation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A man of large wealth, he was generous in his gifts, and with his brothers founded St. Johnsbury Academy, the Athenæum and the Museum of Natural Science, all institutions of which St. Johnsbury may well be proud. He was one of the notable figures in the industrial and political life of Vermont. His death occurred November 20, 1864.

Andrew Tracy, one of the new Congressmen, was born in Hartford, December 15, 1797. He attended Royalton and Randolph Academies and entered Dartmouth College, but did not complete his course. After teaching school for two years in Troy, N. Y., he returned to Hartford and studied law in the office of George E. Wales. During a part of the time he was studying law he acted as Postmaster at White River village. In 1826 he was admitted to the bar and opened a law office in the village of Quechee. In 1837 he removed to Woodstock. He represented the town of

Hartford in the Legislature from 1833 to 1837, inclusive, and represented Woodstock, 1842-44, serving as Speaker during this period of three years. He was one of the Windsor county Senators in 1839, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1836 and a Presidential Elector in 1848. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Whig nomination for Congress in 1840, and served one term in the National House, 1853-55, declining renomination, as he did not find the climate or the political atmosphere of Washington agreeable. After his retirement from Congress he resumed the practice of law. Among his law partners at different times were Norman Williams, Julius Converse and James Barrett. He died at Woodstock, October 28, 1868.

Alvah Sabin was born in Georgia, Vt., October 28, 1793. He was graduated from Columbia College, Washington, D. C., studied theology, served in the War of 1812, was ordained as a Baptist clergyman, and held pastorates at Cambridge, Westford and Underhill. He became pastor of the Baptist Church in his native town of Georgia in 1825, continuing in that capacity until 1867, when he removed to Sycamore, Ill., where he continued preaching until he was a very old man. He was one of a group of clergymen, of whom Ezra Butler and Asa Lyon may be mentioned as examples, who took an active part in Vermont politics. He represented Georgia in the Legislature in 1826, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1847-49, 1851 and 1861-62; was a member of the State Senate in 1841 and 1843-45; Secretary of State, 1841-42; member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1843 and 1850; and was Assistant Judge of Franklin County Court,

1846-1852. He served two terms in Congress and was a delegate to the first National Anti-Slavery Convention. He died in Sycamore, Ill., January 22, 1885, aged ninety-one years.

In his message to the Legislature, Governor Fairbanks said: "The construction of railroads, which has been prosecuted with such unparalleled energy and perseverance during the last few years, has tended to develop the resources and capabilities of the State to an extent beyond the most sanguine expectations of the projectors of these enterprises, and the system may now be regarded as among the greatest benefactions of the age. Thus far, however, the investments for such construction have not yielded a fair income to the stockholders, many of whom have been subjected to no little pecuniary embarrassment by the losses which they have sustained." He made some allusion to national topics, arguing in favor of higher tariff rates.

During the greater part of the session of 1852, the Legislature had under consideration a bill or bills to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor. A wave of temperance reform had recently swept over the country, and in 1851 Maine had passed a prohibition act, the first of its kind in the United States. The new system found many enthusiastic advocates in this and other States. At the annual meeting of the Vermont State Temperance Society, held at St. Johnsbury, January 21-22, 1852, resolutions were adopted declaring the existing liquor laws inadequate and endorsing the Maine law, and committees were appointed to draft a bill. This State meet-

ing was followed by county temperance meetings, which endorsed the policy of prohibition.

As soon as the Legislature was organized petitions began to pour in, asking for the passage of a bill modelled after the Maine law. It is said that thirty-eight thousand names were signed to these petitions, of which seventeen thousand, five hundred were those of legal voters. A select committee on the Maine liquor law was appointed, and on October 27 a bill closely following the provisions of the Maine act was introduced by Gen. Horatio Needham of Bristol. A bill much the same in its nature was introduced on November 3 by Senator Bates of Orleans county. On November 9, Neal Dow, the Maine apostle of prohibition, addressed the members of the Legislature on temperance legislation. On November 17, Senator Goodhue of Windham county, for the select committee on temperance, reported a bill "to prevent the traffic in intoxicating liquors." An amendment providing for a referendum on the prohibition law was rejected by a vote of 15 to 13. Three days later this vote was reconsidered, and the amendment was adopted, the vote being the same as that by which it was previously rejected. On November 20 the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 19 to 6, three Senators being absent. On November 22 the House went into committee of the whole to consider the prohibition bill and on motion of Mr. Barlow of Fairfield it was dismissed by a vote of 92 to 88. The House then took up the Senate bill. Various amendments were defeated and the bill was passed by the exceedingly close vote of 91 to 90. The Senate agreed to the House amendments and sent the

bill to Governor Fairbanks. Meanwhile at an evening session a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill had passed the House was adopted and by a vote of 93 to 82 the Senate was asked to return the measure to the custody of the House. On request of the Senate the Governor returned the bill to that body, and a motion was made to reconsider the vote concurring in the House amendments, a parliamentary procedure necessary before the bill could be returned to the House. By a vote of 15 to 10 the Senate defeated this motion. The bill, therefore, was returned to the Governor, who signed it, and the measure became a law. The House was so exasperated because the Senate refused to return the prohibition bill that it refused to concur in the Senate joint resolution for the election of a State Superintendent of Education.

The bill prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage, but permitted its use for sacramental purposes. A County Commissioner was provided for each county, who was empowered to appoint town agents, who might sell liquor for medical, mechanical and chemical purposes. The penalty for a first offence of selling or furnishing liquor illegally was ten dollars and costs of prosecution; for a second offence, twenty dollars and costs; for a third offence, twenty dollars and costs and imprisonment in the county jail for a period varying from three to six months.

A State temperance convention and county conventions were held to arouse interest in the new law and secure a favorable vote. The newspapers agitated the subject and speakers were sent throughout the State to

advocate the approval of the law. A referendum vote was taken, literally on the time when the law should take effect, but actually on the measure itself, this being the only legal method, it was believed, that a popular vote could be taken on a legislative act. The measure was adopted by a majority of 1,171 votes, 22,215 in favor and 21,045 against the act. The total vote was only 4,689 less than that cast in the September election. Most of the large towns gave substantial majorities in favor of prohibition, Burlington giving 333; Rutland, 348; Bennington, 215; Montpelier, 183; St. Johnsbury, 202; and Brattleboro, 121. Eight counties gave majorities in favor of the law and six against it. Rutland county gave the largest "yes" and Windsor county the largest "no" majority. The vote by counties was as follows:

	Yes	*No*
Addison	1,994	1,441
Bennington	1,286	1,207
Caledonia	1,619	1,591
Chittenden	1,979	1,242
Essex	306	410
Franklin	1,649	1,082
Grand Isle	212	165
Lamoille	841	1,026
Orange	1,925	2,177
Orleans	944	1,162
Rutland	2,765	1,998
Washington	2,127	1,711
Windham	1,830	2,275
Windsor	2,033	3,707

General insurance legislation was enacted. The limits of jail yards were extended to include the entire State and Ex-Gov. Charles K. Williams was designated to revise the code of Statute law. Acts were passed permitting Burlington to incorporate as a city, granting a village charter to St. Johnsbury, and incorporating the Burlington and the Rutland Gas Light companies and numerous slate companies. Resolutions were adopted protesting against Canadian reciprocity, favoring international arbitration, and in view of the fact that extensive grants of land had been made to Southern and Western States to aid in the construction of railroads, approval was given to a bill which had passed the National House of Representatives, by the terms of which nine hundred thousand acres of public lands were granted to Vermont for the support of schools, or for other useful purposes. This bill failed to pass the Senate.

Daniel Webster died on October 24, 1852, while the Vermont Legislature was in session, and on October 25, Governor Fairbanks sent a message to that body, notifying the House and Senate of the Nation's loss. A joint session was held, and eulogies were pronounced, the principal address being given by the venerable William C. Bradley, a member of the House who had been a personal friend and associate of Webster a quarter of a century before. For many years Mr. Bradley had been opposed to Webster in politics, but in an eloquent peroration he said, comparing the dead statesman to a lion: "When the shaft of the Mighty Hunter had laid him low, dead, prostrate before me, and I looked upon his

great and noble proportions, and the symmetry of his make, I must feel that he was indeed created monarch of the forest. So it has never been permitted me to cease admiring and bearing witness to the great things of Daniel Webster; and if it can soothe his mighty spirit to have a political adversary twine the cypress round his tomb, I freely offer myself to bear to his memory a tribute which I trust will be also in unison with the feelings of the whole House." He then offered a suitable resolution, deploring the death of "the eminent jurist, legislator and statesman, Daniel Webster, whose labors in the forum, the Senate and the Cabinet, have honored and adorned his country, and carried its celebrity beyond the limits of our language." The resolution also recognized the debt of gratitude which Vermont owed the great statesman for his achievements in settling the Northern boundary. Effective speeches were made by Messrs. Barrett of Middlebury, Wardner of Windsor and Rowell of Troy.

A Webster memorial service, held at Middlebury, was addressed by Ex-Senator Phelps in a notable speech, which, unfortunately was not reported.

Senator Upham, who had been in poor health for some time, died in Washington, January 4, of varioloid. The burial was in the Congressional Cemetery. The *Vermont Watchman* said: "A shameful panic prevailed at Washington on Senator Upham's death—somewhat palliated but by no means justified by the infectious character of the disease. The consequences of the panic were too painful to be made public." No doubt it was suspected that the disease was smallpox. Senator William

H. Seward, in eulogistic remarks, said of Senator Upham: "No gate was so strong, no lock so fast and firm, as the watch he kept against the approach of corruption or even undue influence or persuasion."

Ex-Senator Phelps was appointed by the Governor to succeed Senator Upham, thus transgressing the so-called "Mountain Rule," whereby one Senator is taken from the east and one from the west side of the Green Mountains. It happened that at the time of Senator Upham's death the vote of every Whig Senator was desired for the confirmation of a nomination for Justice of the Supreme Court, as it was feared that if the appointment went over to the incoming administration a secessionist Democrat would be appointed. Mr. Phelps was in Washington at the time, and, owing to much urging on the part of influential men, he was given a temporary appointment.

The Whigs, the Democrats and the Free Democrats nominated the same candidates for Governor who had been named by these parties the preceding year. The Whigs were weakened by the loss of anti-slavery votes and suffered as a result of the passage of the prohibition liquor law of 1852. Erastus Fairbanks led in the Governorship contest but there was no choice, and the Legislature was called upon to elect. The popular vote was: Fairbanks, 20,849; Robinson, 18,142; Brainerd, 8,291; scattering, 133. The political division of the Senate was: Whigs, 11; Democrats, 6; Free Soil Democrats, 6. One Democratic Senator died after election. The political division of the House was: Whigs, 95; Democrats, 82; Free Soil Democrats, 37. There was a prolonged contest over the election of Speaker, Horatio

Needham, a Free Soil Democrat, being elected on the thirty-first ballot, most of the Democrats voting for him at last. The first ballot for Governor in joint assembly resulted as follows: Fairbanks, 110; Robinson, 97; Brainerd, 38. There was no choice on Thursday or Friday and the joint assembly was adjourned until the following Wednesday. Again there was no election, but on Thursday, October 27, on the twentieth ballot, John S. Robinson was elected, the vote being, Robinson, 120; Fairbanks, 104; Brainerd, 15. Two blank ballots were cast. Robinson's vote, 120, was just the number required to elect, and a sufficient number of Free Soilers left Brainerd to make possible the election of the Democratic candidate. By the same coalition other candidates of the same party were elected, Jefferson P. Kidder of Randolph, Lieutenant Governor, and John A. Page of Montpelier, Treasurer. For twenty-five years there had been no Democratic Governor of Vermont, and none has been elected since (1921). The combination which elected Democratic State officials and a Free Soil Democratic Speaker did not hold together for the election of a United States Senator to fill the unexpired term of William Upham, deceased.

On the first ballot in the Senate Daniel Kellogg (Dem.) received 8 votes; Lawrence Brainerd (Free Soil), 3; Stephen Royce, 2; scattering, 15. The vote in the House was as follows: Daniel Kellogg, 75; Jacob Collamer (Whig), 65; Lawrence Brainerd, 22; Oscar L. Shafter (Free Soil), 21; Portus Baxter, 9; Charles Davis, 6; William Heywood, Jr., 3; Carlos Coolidge, 2; scattering, 6. Balloting continued throughout an un-

usually long session, which adjourned on December 6 without having elected a Senator. The vote on the thirty-ninth and last ballot was: Kellogg, 86; Collamer, 80; Shafter, 18; Brainerd, 9; scattering, 3.

John S. Robinson, born in Bennington, November 10, 1804, was the son of Nathan Robinson, the grandson of Gen. Moses Robinson and the great grandson of Samuel Robinson, pioneer settler of Bennington. Graduating from Williams College in 1824, he was admitted to the Bennington county bar in the same year and became one of the prominent lawyers of Vermont. He represented Bennington in the Legislature in 1832 and 1833 and was a Senator from Bennington county in 1838 and 1839. He was several times an unsuccessful candidate for Governor and Congressman. He attended the Democratic National Convention of 1860, at Charleston, S. C., as chairman of the Vermont delegation, and while in that city was stricken with apoplexy and died on April 24. His body was brought to his home for burial and the funeral sermon was preached by President Hopkins of Williams College, a fellow student in that institution.

In his annual message Governor Robinson declared that the prohibitory liquor law had "engaged the attention and excited the feelings of the community perhaps more than any other legislation since the organization of the government." He considered several provisions of the law of doubtful constitutionality and expediency. In his opinion the idea that the habits and tastes of a people may be materially changed by legislative enactments, was "at variance with the past history and experience of the world." "A very respectable portion," said

he, "perhaps a majority of the citizens of the State, regard the existing law as intolerant in principle, oppressive in its enactments, if not objectionable in the manner of its execution." He therefore recommended a modification of the law, "which, while it shall preserve the State from the vice of intemperance, will also maintain the rights of our citizens against infringement and their dwellings from wanton and malicious intrusion." The Governor recognized that his opinion did not "accord with the sentiments and feelings of a numerous and highly intelligent portion of our citizens."

The prohibitory law was amended in some respects, but no fundamental changes were made. It was provided that the words "give away" should not prevent the giving of liquor in private dwellings unless they became a public resort, but none might be given to an habitual drunkard. Cider might be sold, manufactured or used, but might not be sold in places of public resort or furnished to habitual drunkards. Respondents in liquor cases should be entitled to trial by jury. The completion of the Geological Survey was authorized and Prof. Zadock Thompson was appointed State Naturalist, and authorized to complete the survey. The Governor was requested to appoint a committee of three to receive proposals from citizens of Burlington for the removal of the State capital to that place. Several slate and marble companies were incorporated.

In the apportionment of Congressional Committees, Senator Foot was assigned to Pensions. The House assignments were: Meacham, Judiciary; Tracy, Patents; Sabin, Revisal and Unfinished Business and

Expenditures on Public Buildings. On January 31, 1854, Senator Foot introduced a bill incorporating the National Pacific Railroad Company, with a capital stock of seventy-five million dollars. The Vermont Senator also introduced a bill to appropriate ten million acres of public lands, the proceeds to be distributed pro rata to the States for the relief of the insane.

Owing to the failure of the Vermont Legislature to elect a successor to Senator Upham, a question arose in regard to the right of Judge Phelps to retain the position to which he had been appointed by Governor Fairbanks. He had been commissioned "to serve until the action of the Legislature." Senator William H. Seward of New York offered a resolution providing that Mr. Phelps be allowed to retain his seat. Senator Foot and others supported the resolution and it was referred to the Judiciary Committee. The committee presented a divided report, the majority, consisting of three members, declared Mr. Phelps entitled to his seat, while a minority of two Senators declared that he was not entitled to hold it. The case dragged along for several weeks, the discussion of the Nebraska bill overshadowing all other Congressional matters. Finally, on March 16, the Senate, by a vote of 26 to 12, decided that Judge Phelps was not entitled to a seat in the Senate after the Legislature of Vermont had had an opportunity to elect a Senator.

Chapter XXXIII

THE RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

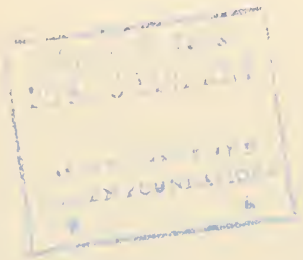
THE introduction of a Senate bill, in Congress, early in the session, providing a territorial form of government for Nebraska, with a stipulation that any State or States to be formed therefrom should decide, each for itself, whether slavery should or should not exist, together with an amendment expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise, began one of the most momentous contests in the history of American legislation. As a result a new political party was formed, a Civil War followed within a decade, and a Solid South became a feature of the political life of the Nation. Probably all of these things were destined to happen in the process of eliminating slavery from the United States, but the Nebraska bill was the culminating feature of a long series of events which united the North in its determination that slavery should go not one step farther. The Nebraska bill passed the Senate on March 3, 1854, by a vote of 37 to 14, Senator Foot voting against the passage. Senator Phelps did not vote, as his right to a seat was in doubt. The anger of the North flamed up and spread with the fierceness of a prairie fire. As an illustration of public sentiment in Vermont, the *Montpelier Watchman* bitterly denounced the act in an editorial, entitled "The Deed of Darkness," which declared that the Southern Whigs who voted for the bill "have probably put an end to the Whig party of the South. Henceforth we owe them no allegiance and we mean never knowingly to give them our confidence or support."

When the bill appeared in the House, Mr. Meacham of Vermont opposed it. "The people," said he, "are

absolutely struck dumb by the audacity of the proposition. If this bill passes there will be raised in the North a more bitter and prolonged anti-slavery excitement than ever." He challenged the friends of the measure to make it an issue in the next campaign. He hoped if the bill were to become a law "it would be passed on the 26th inst. (May)—the day of the great eclipse—for there will rest on it 'the blackness of darkness forever'." All the Vermont Congressmen voted against the bill, but it passed the House on May 12, by a vote of 113 to 100, and the signature of President Pierce made it a law.

After the passage of the Nebraska bill by the Senate, and before action had been taken by the House, meetings were held in great numbers throughout the North, protesting against the measure. A call was issued for such a meeting to be held at Montpelier on March 2, 1854, an appeal being made "to the opponents, irrespective of party distinction, of the proposed abrogation of the Missouri act, forever prohibiting slavery in the territory acquired from France north of 36 degrees 30 minutes." This meeting was called to order by George W. Bailey of Middlesex. William French of Williston was elected president and E. P. Walton, Jr., of Montpelier, editor of the *Vermont Watchman,* was one of the secretaries. Among those actively engaged were William P. Briggs of Richmond, D. P. Thompson and F. F. Merrill of Montpelier, H. B. Stacy of Burlington, E. D. Barber of Middlebury and William M. Pingry of Weathersfield. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted: "Whereas, it is proposed to abrogate

Killington Peak from Pico



the provision made by Congress in 1820, prohibiting slavery forever in the territory acquired from France, lying north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes; therefore,

"Resolved, That we, freemen of Vermont, in State convention assembled, do most solemnly protest against such abrogation in the name of freedom, of patriotism, and of the sacred requirements of our holy religion."

"We protest against it as treason to the cause of human freedom; as a clear violation of the faith of the Government, which was pledged to the people 'forever,' by the very terms of the act of 1820; and as intended to extend the unrighteous and abominable system of American slavery into a vast territory, which has been sacredly dedicated to Freedom.

"We protest against it as an act which will destroy the confidence of the people in the integrity of their Government, and the stability of its laws, and disturb the peace and endanger the prosperity of the Union.

"We protest against it as an act against right, without excuse—without rightful authority, and, therefore, to be repudiated and resisted by the people, to the last extremity.

"Resolved, That in the readiness of the South to absolve themselves from all obligation imposed upon them by the Missouri Compromise, so-called—a measure proposed by the South, unwillingly acceded to by the North, and by men of all sections looked upon as an enactment possessing a sanctity second only to that of the Constitution itself, and, of course, of binding force upon all—we are admonished that too much reliance has been placed upon the honor and 'chivalrous' good faith of the

South—and hope the time is close at hand when the free North will be disposed to listen rather to the voice of Justice than of Slavery—and give heed to the dictates of mercy, rather than implicitly obey the imperious commands of slaveholders.

"Resolved, That in the contest that seems to be approaching we will know no party but our country, and that if our Southern brethren are determined to drive us to that impassable line beyond which is the security, protection and extension of human slavery, they may learn that Slavery and not Freedom will be 'crushed out'."

After numerous speeches had been made, the following executive committee was chosen: Charles Adams of Burlington, John McLane of Cabot, Azil Spalding of Montpelier, Daniel Roberts of Manchester and E. P. Walton, Jr., of Montpelier.

At several of the Vermont town meetings held in March, 1854, resolutions were adopted, condemning the Nebraska bill. Charlotte censured Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, a native of Vermont, for his advocacy of the measure. Springfield voters declared that "We will vote for such men, and such men only, as will use their vote and influence to protect this territory from the encroachments of slavery."

Evidences of a new political alignment began almost as soon as the Nebraska bill had passed the Senate, and the people of Vermont were in the forefront of this movement. Never before or since has there been such a loosening of party ties in the State as that which occurred from 1854 to 1861. The hatred of slavery and

the determination that the Territories should remain free from bondage were so strong that party affiliations, often of a lifetime, were cast aside.

A mass meeting held in Rutland county called for united action "until the repealing clause (referring to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise) shall itself be repealed; and if disunion be the result, let the guilty authors of the unnecessary measure be responsible for the consequences."

A Chittenden county meeting called at the Court House in Burlington, held morning, afternoon and evening sessions, the auditorium being crowded. Resolutions were adopted protesting against the passage of the Nebraska bill. President Labaree of Middlebury College presided at an Addison county meeting held at Vergennes. At a Franklin county meeting held at St. Albans, a call for a State convention was signed by Democrats, Whigs and Free Soilers.

In its issue of March 25, 1854, the *Vermont Tribune* proposed that the State Committee appointed at the Anti-Nebraska meeting held in Montpelier, should call a mass meeting to nominate a State ticket, irrespective of previous connections, representing opposition to further extension of slavery. The *Vermont Watchman* commended this suggestion to the politicians and people of all parties, saying: "United political action to resist the extension of slavery is a necessity of the times." It believed the North should unite to control the next House of Representatives. If Southern members threatened to withdraw, "Let them threaten and withdraw if they dare. If the slavery propagandists choose to resort to

disunion, let them take the responsibility." The Whig party ought to take the lead in the proposed union.

In commenting on the Nebraska bill, in its issue of March 29, 1854, the *Middlebury Register* said: "In this state of things an inevitable result now appears to be the formation of a great Republican party of the North." A suitable platform is quoted, written by John G. Whittier and published in the *National Era*. This reference to a Republican party is one of the first on record. Several Vermont newspapers opposed the dissolution of the Whig party. The name meant much to them, although it should be remembered that this was not a long lived party, having been in existence only about twenty years. The *Watchman* called attention to the fact that while several editors held that opponents of slavery extension should come to the Whig party, Free Soil newspapers contended that Anti-Nebraska Whigs ought to come into the Free Soil party.

The Whig State Convention was held at Rutland, June 7, 1854. A letter from Ex-Gov. Erastus Fairbanks announced that business engagements would prevent his candidacy for the office of Governor. The platform, reported by E. P. Walton, Jr., condemned in the most vigorous terms the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as "palpable perfidy to a solemn pledge of freedom," and invited the cooperation of all freemen. A hint of the possible formation of a new party is found in the recommendation that if a national convention should be called to resist the encroachments and extension of slavery, delegates should be appointed from each Congressional district. Judge Stephen Royce of Berkshire

was nominated for Governor and Oscar L. Shafter of Wilmington for Lieutenant Governor.

The Democratic State Convention, held at Montpelier, June 21, announced its unshaken devotion to the administration of President Pierce, but declared, "We do'nt propose to make difference of opinion among Democrats in relation to the policy of the provisions of the bill establishing a territorial government for Nebraska and Kansas a test of party faith." The convention approved the right of the people "to regulate their own domestic institutions." The ticket of the previous year was renominated, but letters were read from Governor Robinson and Lieutenant Governor Kidder, declining again to be candidates. Merritt Clark of Poultney and William Mattocks of Peacham were nominated, respectively, for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Hiram Atkins of Bellows Falls opposed the plank in the platform endorsing Senator Douglas' policy of "Squatter Sovereignty." Others attempted to join in condemning this feature but debate was cut off by a motion to adjourn, which was adopted.

A call was issued for a mass convention of all persons "in favor of resisting by all constitutional means the usurpations of the propagandists of slavery," to be held at Montpelier on July 4. The date was changed to July 13, the anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, dedicating to Freedom all the territory north of the Ohio River. A long list of names, many of them well known in State affairs, was attached to this call, headed by that of William C. Bradley of Westminster, five times the Democratic candidate for Governor.

This convention met on the day appointed, at the State House, the attendance being estimated from six hundred to eight hundred persons. It was called to order by George W. Bailey of Middlesex, and Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans was elected president. It was recommended that this organization should be called the Republican party. The platform demanded the protection of Free States from "Southern aggression and Northern treachery"; the recovery of the rights of the Free States as an integral part of the Union; and for the rescue of the General Government from the control of the slave power. Slavery was condemned as "a great moral, social and political evil"; the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was denounced as "inconsistent with the fundamental principles of natural justice, and destructive of all confidence in the integrity, good faith and honor of the National and State governments favoring such repeal." All compromises with slavery were declared to be ended; and the platform continued: "Our rallying cry shall henceforth be the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and of the interstate slave trade, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the prohibition of slavery in all the Territories of the United States, and the admission of no more slave States into the Union."

On general topics, the platform declared for "a tariff for revenue with proper discrimination in favor of American industry," free homesteads on public lands to actual settlers, a judicious system of river and harbor improvements, cheaper postal rates and the abolition of the franking privilege, election of Postmasters and other

civil officers as soon as possible, and included an endorsement of the prohibitory liquor law. The calling of a convention "for the purpose of forming a national organization opposed to the aggression of slavery, and for the adoption of other and more effectual measures of resistance to such aggression," were recommended.

The following ticket was nominated: For Governor, Gen. E. P. Walton of Montpelier; for Lieutenant Governor, Ryland Fletcher of Cavendish; for Treasurer, Henry M. Bates of Northfield. Mr. Bates was the Whig candidate for the same office. D. P. Thompson, E. P. Walton, Jr., O. H. Platt, William M. Pingrey and E. D. Barber were chosen delegates to a National Convention. Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans, John McLean of Cabot, J. D. Bradley of Brattleboro, Thomas E. Powers of Woodstock, James S. Moore of Strafford, William H. French of Williston and Bliss N. Davis of Danville were chosen as a State Committee.

Immediately after adjournment the Free Democratic State Convention assembled, and, by a large majority, adopted the platform and endorsed the ticket of the mass convention just held, although objection was made by a few delegates to the nomination of Messrs. Walton and Bates.

On the same day similar Anti-Nebraska State Conventions were held in Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin. The birth of the Republican party is generally considered to have taken place in an oak grove at Jackson, Mich., where a State Convention was held on July 6, 1854. If the Vermont Convention had been held, as originally

called, on July 4, that honor might have come to the Green Mountain State.

Several county conventions were called, appealing to all persons opposed to the aggressions of the slave power. The Orange county call was for a Republican Convention, and Whigs and Republicans united on a county ticket. A Lamoille County Republican Convention was also called. E. B. Sawyer was its secretary. Horace Powers was nominated for Senator and Russell S. Page for Sheriff. In Orleans county the Free Soilers rejected an offer to unite with the Whigs. In Washington county, the Democrats and Free Soil Democrats nominated a union ticket. It had been expected by many of the opponents of slavery that the mass convention held at Montpelier on July 13, would endorse the nomination of Judge Royce for Governor, made by the Whigs. O. L. Shafter, the Whig nominee for Lieutenant Governor, had declined to accept the nomination, as he had made arrangements to go West. The Whig State Committee deferred the filling of the vacancy, evidently hoping that a coalition ticket might be named. On July 21, General Walton declined the nomination for Governor, made on July 13, in a letter in which he said that he would have accepted "at this important crisis in our National and State affairs, had not another candidate been in nomination for the same office, known to cherish sentiments in unison with my own, and in accordance with those adopted at the mass meeting." The Republican Committee, with one member dissenting, then nominated Judge Royce for Governor, and on August 1 he accepted, finding the resolutions of the

Whig and Republican Conventions substantially the same. The Whig State Committee nominated the Republican candidate, Ryland Fletcher, to fill the vacancy for second place on the State ticket, and a coalition was thus assured. The passage of the Nebraska bill in Congress had destroyed the union of Free Soilers and Democrats, which had elected John S. Robinson, Governor, and in previous elections had imperilled Whig supremacy in Vermont, but it had also destroyed the Whig party in the Nation. Southern Whigs and Northern Whigs were hopelessly split on the rock of slavery.

In this period, when party ties were being broken, a new organization arose, called the American party, but generally described as Know Nothings. Its meetings were held in secret and its nominations and strength were not known until the election results were announced. Opposition to alien influences and hostility to the Roman Catholic Church seem to have been the motives which led to the formation of this party. Not a few local elections in Vermont were carried by Know Nothings. Leading Vermont newpapers, however, strongly opposed the movement.

Andrew Tracy had declined again to be a candidate for Congress, and the Whigs had nominated Justin S. Morrill of Strafford. The election resulted in a sweeping victory for the Coalition State ticket, Royce being elected by a majority of 11,238. There were only two Democrats in the State Senate and the Democrats elected less than one-third of the House membership. The official vote for Governor was as follows:

Stephen Royce	27,926
Merritt Clark	15,084
Lawrence Brainerd	619
William C. Kittredge	293
Oscar L. Shafter	255
Horatio Needham	302
Scattering	135

Every county gave Royce a majority. Not a Democratic Representative was elected from Addison county, only one from Chittenden county, and only two from Rutland county. James Meacham was reelected member of Congress from the First district by a majority of nearly 5,000, and Alvah Sabin, in the Third district, was returned by a majority exceeding 4,200. A third candidate divided the vote in the Second district, and Justin S. Morrill narrowly escaped defeat, his majority being only 59. George W. Grandey of Vergennes was elected Speaker, receiving 171 votes, while 50 were cast for Thomas Bartlett, Jr. (Dem.). A few members attempted to organize a distinctive "Republican" caucus, and cast 23 votes for John McLean of Cabot for Speaker, but a separate party organization was opposed by George F. Edmunds of Burlington and others. The United States Senate vacancies were quickly filled. Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans was chosen to fill the unexpired portion of Senator Upham's term, receiving 26 of the 29 votes cast in the Senate. The vote in the House was, Brainerd, 162; Daniel Kellogg (Dem.), 49; O. L. Shafter, 4; scattering, 4. For the full term of six years Jacob Collamer of Woodstock was chosen, in spite of some "Republican" opposition. The Senate

vote was, Collamer, 19; Oscar L. Shafter, 5; Portus Baxter, 3; Paul Dillingham (Dem.), 2. Collamer was elected in the House on the third ballot, receiving 115 votes. Oscar L. Shafter received 57; Paul Dillingham, 44; scattering, 7. Judge Collamer announced that he was utterly opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and favored immediate and unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, unless modified to permit a jury trial in the place of arrest.

Toward the end of the year 1854, the *Orleans County Gazette* said: "The Whig press generally in the Free States—the Silver Gray press of New York, Boston and a few other places excepted—manifests a proper consciousness of the fact that the old Whig party has passed off the stage."

Stephen Royce, elected Governor in 1854, was born in Tinmouth, Vt., August 12, 1787. In March, 1791, his parents removed to Franklin, then known as Huntsburg, and two years later they established a home in Berkshire, being numbered among the earliest settlers in that town. There were no schools in Berkshire during the boyhood of Stephen Royce and much of his early training was given by his father and mother. At the age of thirteen he attended school at Tinmouth, and later at Middlebury, entering Middlebury College in 1803. His college course was interrupted by the illness of his father, but he was able to graduate with his class in 1807. It is related that he purchased his college text books with money obtained from the sale of furs, which he had secured by trapping, carried on at his home in Berkshire. He taught school in Sheldon and studied law in

the office of an uncle, Ebenezer Marvin, Jr. In 1809 he was admitted to the Franklin county bar, and for two years practiced law at Berkshire. He then removed to Sheldon, where he remained for six years, removing in 1817 to St. Albans. He represented Sheldon in the Legislature in 1815 and 1816, and was State's Attorney of Franklin county from 1816 to 1818. He represented St. Albans in the Legislature, 1822-24, and in 1822 was elected delegate to a Constitutional Convention. In 1825 and 1826 he was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court, and declining a reelection he returned to the practice of his profession. In 1829 he was elected again to the Supreme bench, serving continuously until 1851. During the last six years of his service on the Supreme Court bench he was Chief Judge. He ranked among the leading lawyers of the State and was highly esteemed as a Judge. He was a man of commanding presence and he was noted for his courtesy. He served two terms as Governor, and at the close of his official life retired to the ancestral home at Berkshire, where he died November 11, 1865, aged seventy-eight years.

Lawrence Brainerd, elected United States Senator to succeed William Upham, deceased, and one of the Anti-Slavery leaders of Vermont, was born at East Hartford, Conn., March 16, 1794. When only fourteen years old he emigrated to St. Albans, Vt., having sold walnuts to secure the necessary money for the journey. He arrived at St. Albans with a capital of seventy-five cents. After clerking in a store and teaching school, he engaged in business for himself in 1816, and became a man of large wealth and influence. He was associated

with Hon. John Smith and others in the early management of the Vermont Central Railroad. In 1834 he represented St. Albans in the Legislature. He was one of the few Vermonters to support James G. Birney as the candidate of the Liberty party for President in 1840. In 1846 and 1847 he was the Anti-Slavery candidate for Governor. He was one of the foremost men in the United States in the organization of the Republican party as a national organization. In 1856 he was a Presidential Elector on the first Republican ticket. He died at St. Albans, May 9, 1870, aged seventy-six years.

The new member of Vermont's delegation in the House, Justin Smith Morrill, chosen just as the Whig party was passing from the political stage, was destined to be one of the most notable figures in Vermont's history, and one of the most useful in the annals of the American Congress. Born in Strafford, Vt., April 14, 1810, son of Nathaniel Morrill, the village blacksmith, and eldest of a family of ten children, his educational advantages were meagre, consisting of a few terms in the district school, and one term each in the academies at Randolph and Thetford. He was ambitious to go to college, and when a lad he asked his father to aid him in securing such an education. His father replied that while it might be possible to send him to college it was doubtful if any of his younger brothers could be given a similar privilege, and asked him to think the matter over. Justin decided to secure a position as clerk and to educate himself. At the age of fifteen he entered the store of Jedediah H. Harris of Strafford, a prominent citizen of Orange county. Here he worked for two years, re-

ceiving thirty dollars the first year and forty dollars the second year. At the end of that period he went to Portland, Me., where an uncle resided. Here he secured a clerkship with a merchant in the West India trade, but finding little opportunity for promotion, he left this position and secured another in one of Portland's wholesale and retail dry goods houses, gaining a thorough knowledge of the business. During his clerkship he utilized nearly all his spare time in reading. He subscribed to a circulating library, and learned Latin by the light of the fireplace after the long day's work was done. He read Blackstone's Commentaries, and in later years pursued a course of reading in standard and classical authors, which gave him probably a better all-round education than was obtained at that time by the average college graduate.

In October, 1830, Justin Morrill returned to his native town to visit his parents, and while there he was requested to take charge of the sale of a stock of goods at South Strafford, one of the partners having died. Judge Harris, his former employer, suggested that he buy the business, offering to go into partnership with him. Morrill had saved only one hundred and fifty dollars, but he decided to purchase, and thus, before he had reached the age of twenty-one years, he was established as a merchant. The business prospered, and branch stores were established. An excellent business man, courteous in his manners, he became a very popular merchant. Twice each year, in April and September, he went to Boston to buy goods, which were transported

to Strafford in large freight wagons, and on every trip he bought books for his library.

In 1848, having reached the age of thirty-eight years, he decided that he had made enough money to enable him to retire from active life and marry. He purchased a tract of fifty acres abutting on the village street, studied architecture and landscape gardening, drew plans for his house and grounds and spent three years in building. During a part of this time he was interested in the Orange County Bank at Chelsea. In 1851 he married Miss Ruth Swan, a Massachusetts woman who had been a school teacher. Mr. Morrill's bank connections brought him into touch with business men in Boston and New York. He became interested in politics and studied political economy and other subjects that enabled him to gain a thorough knowledge of public affairs. While in Washington in 1852, having attended the Whig National Convention at Baltimore, he dined with Daniel Webster. He was thoroughly opposed to slavery, and announced his position in a statement made in reply to a question from one of his constituents. Mr. Morrill, therefore, entered upon his Congressional career, remarkably well equipped for public service.

The attempt to secure a preponderance of anti-slavery settlers in Kansas resulted in the holding of Kansas meetings in many Northern States, including Vermont, and the recruiting of emigrants from this State. The newspapers of the period were filled with discussions of the subject of slavery in the Territories.

The Know Nothing party was successful in several Vermont town meetings in the spring of 1855, including

Burlington and Montpelier. The party's most conspicuous success was the election of members of the Council of Censors, the ticket headed by John W. Vail, receiving 11,160 votes, while for the opposition or Independent ticket, 5,820 votes were cast. Several of the most influential newspapers of the State opposed the Know Nothing movement vigorously. The Council of Censors elected consisted of John W. Vail of Bennington, Evelyn Pierpoint of Rutland, James M. Slade of Middlebury, David Fish of Jericho, William C. Wilson of Bakersfield, William W. Wells of Waterbury, Charles S. Dana of St. Johnsbury, David Hibbard, 3rd, of Concord, John B. Hutchinson of Randolph, Thomas F. Hammond of Windsor, LaFayette Ward of Westminster, Thomas Gleed of Morristown and Nathaniel P. Nelson of Craftsbury. The Council met at Montpelier on June 6, 1855. David Hibbard was elected president and James M. Slade, secretary. Another meeting was held in October and proposed to amend the State Constitution by providing for biennial instead of annual sessions of the Legislature; biennial terms for State and county officers and Justices of the Peace; a House of Representatives consisting of one hundred and fifty members, each county being entitled to two, with the remaining members apportioned according to population, permission being given to the Legislature to divide the State into Representative districts, but no towns to be divided; a Senate consisting of two members from each county, elected for four-year terms, one-half the membership to be elected every two years; Supreme Court Judges to be elected for terms of six years, one-third of

the membership to be elected every two years; all elections by the General Assembly to be by viva voce vote rather than by ballot; State officers to be elected by a plurality instead of a majority vote; Secretary of State, Auditor of Accounts, Bank Commissioners and Registers of Probate to be elected by popular vote; demand of ten members required to secure a yea and nay vote in the House of Representatives except upon bills vetoed by the Governor; a Constitutional Council substituted for a Constitutional Convention, consisting of one member from each county chosen once in ten years; if a Convention should be called by the Council it should consist of ninety delegates, two from each county, and the remaining members apportioned according to population. A convention to consider these proposals of amendment was called for the first Wednesday of January, 1857.

There was great opposition to the proposals of amendment, particularly to the features that deprived each town of a Representative and provided for a Constitutional Convention in which each town was not represented. The *Vermont Watchman* declared that these proposals of amendment amounted to a sweeping revolution in the three departments of government. The Legislature of 1856 adopted resolutions declaring that the framers of the Constitution did not intend to give and did not give the Council of Censors power to prescribe districts which should elect delegates to a Constitutional Convention, or to decrease the number of delegates. The action of the Council of Censors was held to be unconstitutional and the convention called was urged to reject the amendments proposed.

On January 7, 1857, the Constitutional Convention assembled at Montpelier. Loyal C. Kellogg of Benson was elected president, and D. W. C. Clarke of Burlington, secretary. Most of the members of this body had been elected with instructions to oppose the amendments. Resolutions were adopted, declaring that the Council of Censors had "acted unwisely and exceeded the powers devolved upon them by the Constitution as heretofore practically interpreted"; also that "the principle of town representation is too fully indicated to be thus invaded or assailed." Therefore, it was "Resolved, That as the amendments proposed by the Council will necessarily fail and be virtually rejected by the people unless duly confirmed—this convention sees no occasion to take any further action relative thereto." This resolution was adopted by a vote of 73 to 14. In later years some of the changes proposed were made. It is not improbable that the strong opposition aroused at this time was due in part to the fact that the Council of Censors was elected by the Know Nothing party, against which a strong prejudice existed, on account of the secret methods employed in the choice of candidates.

In the spring of 1855 a call was issued for a State Convention of freemen "in opposition to the pro-slavery policy of the present national administration and to the propagandists of slavery of every name in the Union—for the defence of freedom and to protect the rights of the Free States." This call was signed by the Whig State Chairman and the chairman of the Montpelier Mass Convention of 1854. The convention was held at Burlington. The ticket of the previous year, headed

by Governor Royce, was nominated and the platform of 1854 reaffirmed, to which was added a condemnation of the Kansas outrages. This slogan was adopted—"No slavery outside the Slave States—Slavery, local; Freedom, National." The Democrats renominated the ticket of the previous year, with Merritt Clark of Poultney for Governor. A Know Nothing convention was held at Burlington on July 11, attended by four hundred delegates. The name American party of Vermont was adopted, and anti-slavery resolutions were passed, but no nominations for State officers were made. A State Temperance Convention on July 17 nominated William R. Shafter of Townshend for Governor, endorsing the Lieutenant Governor and Treasurer then in office.

In July, 1855, the *Vermont Patriot* (Dem.) declared: "The Whig party of Vermont has been abandoned. There is no Whig State ticket in the field." To this declaration the *St. Johnsbury Caledonian* replied: "For the Whig party of Vermont it is enough for the present to be known as a portion of the Great Northern Anti-Slavery party. One can very readily tell what that means." In August, 1855, the *Middlebury Register* placed over the list of officers carried at the head of its editorial page, the caption, "Republican State Ticket." Before the end of the month the *Vermont Watchman* followed suit, but the *Burlington Free Press* went through the campaign with no distinctive party name over this same list of candidates, which it carried.

A so-called Whig State Convention, held at White River Junction in August, was attended by a mere hand-

ful of men. Rev. John Wheeler of Burlington, former President of the University of Vermont, was nominated for Governor, but declined the nomination.

Governor Royce was reelected by a large majority, receiving 25,699 votes. Merritt Clark (Dem.) polled 12,800 votes. There were cast for William R. Shafter, the Temperance candidate, 1,308 votes, and James M. Slade, a leader of the Know Nothing, or American party, received 3,631 votes. To complete the total there should be added 128 scattering votes. The vote for Slade was cast chiefly in Caledonia, Orange, Windsor and Bennington counties, and by far the largest vote for Shafter was given in Windsor county. The Senate consisted of 29 Republicans and 1 Democrat. The House was divided politically as follows: Republicans, 145; Democrats, 33; Americans, 21; Whigs, 6; Temperance party, 1.

George W. Grandey of Vergennes was reelected Speaker. In his annual message Governor Royce recommended that the policy of prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors should be continued, and referred to the aggressions of pro-slavery men in Kansas. The Legislature authorized the appointment of a Railroad Commissioner by the Judges of the Supreme Court, whose duty it should be to examine and report on the pecuniary condition and financial management of the railroads of the State. The commissioner's salary and expenses were assessed on the railroad companies of the State according to an apportionment made by the State Treasurer. Minor amendments to the prohibitory law were adopted, and the sum of two thousand dollars was

appropriated for a monument to be erected over the grave of Ethan Allen at Burlington. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was declared "an act of atrocity unequalled in the political history of the Nation, and directly subversive of the fundamental principles of republican government." These resolutions were adopted: "Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 is a violation of the Constitution, an insult to the Free States, an outrage on the rights of man and a disgrace to the statutes of the Nation; and the people of Vermont will indignantly rebuke any Senator or Representative of theirs in the National Congress who does not use his influence to bring about its entire repeal, or that of its odious and unjust provisions.

"Resolved, That the slave who treads the soil of a Free State by the consent of his master, becomes thereby and at once forever free, and entitled to the exercise of the whole power of the State, when necessary, in the defense of his freedom."

At the opening of Congress in December, 1855, Senator Foot was assigned to the Public Lands Committee and Senator Collamer to Post-Offices and Territories. The long struggle to elect a Speaker of the National House ended early in February with the choice of Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts. Vermont members were assigned as follows: Morrill, Territories; Sabin, Agriculture; Meacham, District of Columbia. The *Washington Star,* in approving the appointment of Mr. Meacham, said he was "the scholar of the House." On January 26, 1856, before the House had elected a Speaker, Mr. Meacham offered a resolution declaring

that in the opinion of the House the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an example of useless agitation of the slavery question, and unwise and unjust to the American people. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 108 to 93, which was considered a test vote in the House.

On March 12, 1856, Senator Douglas of Illinois, a native of Vermont, standing by the Secretary's desk, read the majority report of the Committee on Territories on affairs in Kansas, a document which occupied two hours in the reading. Senator Collamer followed him, standing in the same place, and reading the minority report, the Vermont Senator constituting the minority. This report ended with the declaration that, "Justice may be denied where it ought to be granted; power may perpetuate that vassalage which violence and usurpation have produced; the subjugation of white freemen may be necessary that African slavery may succeed; but such a course must not be expected to produce peace and satisfaction in our country so long as the people retain any proper sentiment of Justice, Liberty and Law." As Senator Collamer concluded the reading of the minority report, Senator Sumner of Massachusetts observed that "in those two reports the whole subject is presented characteristically on both sides. In the report of the majority the true issue is smothered; in that of the minority the true issue stands forth as a pillar of fire to guide the country. The first report proceeds from four Senators; but against it I put fearlessly the report signed by a single Senator—Mr. Collamer, to whom I offer my thanks for this service." On March 20, Douglas ad-

dressed the Senate in support of the majority report on Kansas. Judge Collamer's reply was necessarily deferred on account of ill health, but on April 3 and 4 he delivered a masterly argument. The *New York Evening Post,* a Democratic newspaper with Free Soil sympathies, said that Judge Collamer's speech "was an unanswerable and complete refutation of the strange fallacies employed by Mr. Douglas in his majority report to justify the principles of the Nebraska bill and the policy of the Administration in reference to the people of Kansas."

Vermont's anti-slavery laws and resolutions irritated the Southern States exceedingly, a knowledge of which did not in any wise deter the Green Mountain lawmakers from expressing their opinions freely and fully. In a message to the Virginia Legislature, Governor Wise, referring to one of the Vermont resolutions on slavery, said: "We cannot reason with the heads of fanatics, nor touch hearts fatally bent upon treason." Copies of Vermont resolutions relating to Kansas sent to the executives of the various States, called forth a long message to the Georgia Legislature from Gov. Herschel V. Johnson, in which he characterized the resolutions as insulting. The Vermont resolutions are said to have caused "much high feeling and indignation in the House." One member offered a resolution directing the Governor to transmit to the Governor of Vermont, with a request to lay the same before the State Legislature, the Georgia resolutions of 1850, declaring that the State would resist acts of aggression therein enumerated, "even (as a last resort) to the disruption of every tie

that binds her to the Union"; and enclose the same in a leaden bullet. Other members suggested that powder and a coil of rope should be included. The following resolutions were offered:

"Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, That His Excellency the Governor be and is hereby requested to transmit the Vermont resolutions to the deep, dank and fetid sink of social and political iniquity from whence they emanated, with the following unequivocal declaration inscribed thereon:

"Resolved, That Georgia, standing on her constitutional palladium, heeds not the maniac ravings of hell-born fanaticism, nor stoops from her lofty position to hold terms with perjured traitors."

In the Georgia Senate this resolution was offered: "Resolved, That His Excellency, President Pierce, be requested to employ a sufficient number of able-bodied Irishmen to proceed to the State of Vermont, and to dig a ditch around the limits of the same, and to float 'the thing' into the Atlantic."

The Vermont resolutions on Kansas were transmitted by the Governor of Alabama to the Legislature of that State and were referred to a special committee, which reported as follows: "Resolved, That the Governor be requested to place in the hands of his Negro boy Russell the resolutions received from the Governor of Vermont as relates to his message on Kansas, and that the Negro boy Russell be instructed to return them with his utter contempt of the course pursued by the Vermont Legislature, and that he, the said Negro boy, will not condescend to notice Vermont or its Governor any more, on the

ground that the Vermont Legislature has made him equal, if not superior, to the white men of that State."

Vermont took an active interest in Kansas affairs in 1856. At a meeting held at Randolph on February 9, the sum of three hundred and fifty dollars was subscribed to provision and arm the Free State citizens of the Territory for defence. It was announced that eight young men from Randolph had settled in Kansas. The newspapers mention the holding of Kansas meetings at Brattleboro, Putney, Dummerston, Poultney, Montpelier, Northfield, Waitsfield, Stowe, Bristol and St. Albans. Rev. B. B. Newton of St. Albans was appointed agent to form a Vermont company to settle in Kansas, and a company of ten started for the West on August 20. The Republican Central Committee appointed a committee to solicit aid for the friends of freedom in Kansas. Three Vermonters were numbered among one hundred and five persons arrested in that Territory on a charge of murder for resisting the pro-slavery men, otherwise known as Border Ruffians.

The Vermont colony that emigrated to Kansas in the spring of 1857, located on the Little Osage River, about sixteen miles from the Missouri line. The town was named Mapleton, in memory of the maple trees of Vermont.

The American or Know Nothing movement, which spread rapidly throughout the country for a short time, was checked by a split in the party on the slavery question. A meeting of the National Council of the party, held at Philadelphia on June 5, 1855, was attended by six Vermont delegates, Ryland Fletcher, Evelyn Pier-

point, Horace Kingsley, Joseph H. Barrett, J. D. Hatch and R. M. Guilford. The platform was of such a nature that the anti-slavery delegates, including those from Vermont, protested and withdrew. Vermont's delegates attended a convention of Northern Americans, held at Cincinnati, November 25, 1855, E. Mattocks being the Vermont member of the National Council. Vermont was not represented at the American National Convention, held at Philadelphia, February 22, 1856, which nominated Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson as its national ticket; nor at the convention of the anti-slavery faction which nominated as its ticket John C. Fremont and William F. Johnston. J. M. Slade was appointed Vermont member of the executive committee of the Northern faction. The American party in Vermont nominated Ryland Fletcher of Cavendish for Governor and condemned the assault upon Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate Chamber in Washington.

An informal National Convention of the new Republican party was called at Pittsburg, February 22, 1856, to perfect a national organization. The call was signed by A. P. Stone of Ohio, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, J. Z. Goodrich of Massachusetts, Lawrence Brainerd of Vermont and William A. White of Wisconsin, chairmen of the Republican committees of the States named. The Vermont delegates to this preliminary convention were Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans, Bliss N. Davis of Danville, Rolla Gleason of Richmond, David S. Church of Middlebury, H. G. Root of Bennington, James S. Moore of Strafford, John Porter of Quechee, Portus

Baxter of Derby, J. M. Hotchkiss of Waterville and W. D. Marsh of Clarendon.

The first Republican National Convention was called to order by Lawrence Brainerd of Vermont. Vermont's delegates to the Republican National Convention, held at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, to nominate a national ticket, were Hiland Hall of Bennington, chairman, Heman Carpenter of Northfield, Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury, William Skinner of Royalton, Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans, Levi Underwood of Burlington, D. E. Nicholson of Wallingford, E. D. Warner of New Haven, H. K. Slayton of Calais, Edward Kirkland of Brattleboro, Ryland Fletcher of Cavendish, William F. Dickinson of Chelsea, Rolla Gleason of Richmond, H. H. Reynolds of Alburg and William L. Sowles of Swanton. Heman Carpenter was chosen vice president for Vermont and Levi Underwood, secretary. All of Vermont's votes were cast for John C. Fremont for President. On an informal ballot for a candidate for Vice President the fifteen votes from this State were cast for Jacob Collamer of Vermont. On the formal ballot Vermont voted for William L. Dayton of New Jersey. Mr. Carpenter of the Vermont delegation was one of the orators who addressed the convention.

The call issued for a State Convention at White River Junction did not take the Republican name, but appealed to all opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the policy of the Pierce administration, the extension of slavery into the Territories, and in favor of the admission of Kansas as a Free State. Ryland Fletcher of Cavendish was nominated for Governor and

James M. Slade of Middlebury, for Lieutenant Governor. Both men had been affiliated with the Know Nothing movement. For Electors-at-large two well known men were named, William C. Bradley of Westminster and Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans.

The delegates to the Democratic National Convention, held at Cincinnati, June 2, were David A. Smalley of Burlington, chairman, Jefferson P. Kidder of Randolph, Charles G. Eastman of Montpelier, Bradley Barlow of Fairfield, Robert Harvey of Barnet, Tappan Stevens of Newbury, John Cain of Rutland, Lyman P. White of Whiting, I. B. Bowdish of Swanton and P. S. Benjamin of Wolcott. Mr. Kidder was the vice president for Vermont. Henry Keyes of Newbury was nominated for Governor.

A remnant of the old Whig party, some sixty or seventy persons, assembled at Burlington, September 12, 1856, in State Convention, Rev. John Wheeler presiding. The following delegates were elected to attend a National Convention at Baltimore, September 17: R. McK. Ormsby of Bradford, Isaac T. Wright of Castleton, H. S. Hard of Bennington, Carlos Coolidge of Windsor and A. S. Hyde of St. Albans. Erastus Brooks of New York made a speech in the interest of the candidacy of Ex-President Millard Fillmore. Ex-Governor Coolidge declined to serve as a delegate. At a Whig (Fillmore) State Convention held at Montpelier, October 8, attended by about twenty persons, an Electoral ticket was nominated. At a Radical Abolitionist convention held in Syracuse, N. Y., May 28, Gerritt Smith was nominated for President. John R. Forest of Winooski was nomi-

nated to organize Vermont, and an electoral ticket was nominated, headed by a colored man, S. Sankee of Burlington.

Congressman James Meacham died at his home in Middlebury on August 23, aged forty-six years. His death was a loss not only to Vermont but to the Nation. He ranked among the able members of Congress, and his name had been considered in connection with the Speakership of the House. He was one of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution and was noted for his scholarly accomplishments. As chairman of the District of Columbia Committee he held a responsible position in the affairs of the city of Washington. The *Vermont Watchman* said he was one of those "who counseled the politicians in 1854 in that first declaration of principles which has now become essentially the platform of the Republican party of the Nation." Mr. Meacham had been renominated for another term in Congress and the time was short in which to name a successor. A second convention was called, which nominated George T. Hodges of Rutland to fill Mr. Meacham's unexpired term, and E. P. Walton of Montpelier, editor of the *Vermont Watchman*, for the term beginning in March, 1857.

The election resulted in a victory for the Republican candidate. The official vote for Governor was, Fletcher (Rep.), 34,052; Keyes (Dem.), 11,661; scattering, 270. The Democrats elected a mere handful of members to the Legislature, only sixteen votes being cast for the party candidate for Speaker. Walton was elected to Congress by a majority of 6,132 in the First district and

Hodges, for the short term, had a majority of 8,447. Morrill's majority in the Second district was 9,308 and Homer E. Royce in the Third district, was chosen by a majority of 5,960. Solomon Foot was reelected United States Senator by the Legislature. The vote in the Senate was as follows: Foot, 16; Daniel Roberts, 4; Lawrence Brainerd, 4; Hiland Hall, 3; John Pierpoint, 1; William C. Bradley, 1; George P. Marsh, 1. The vote in the House was, Foot, 143; Daniel Roberts, 33; Lawrence Brainerd, 28; Benjamin H. Smalley (Dem.), 17; scattering, 6.

Fremont's majority was 28,374 and he carried every county by a large majority. The total vote, 50,748, was the largest cast since the campaign of 1840. Fillmore's vote was not large enough to affect the result and Gerritt Smith hardly received votes enough to be dignified by the caption, scattering. The new Republican party was stronger in Vermont than the Whig party ever had been, as it contained many men formerly Anti-Slavery Democrats. The Presidential vote by counties was as follows:

	Fremont	*Buchanan*	*Fillmore*	*Smith & scattering*
Addison	3,362	334	68	..
Bennington	2,120	785	70	..
Caledonia	2,540	1,061	23	1
Chittenden	2,844	688	73	12
Essex	622	274	4	..
Franklin	2,454	870	65	..
Grand Isle	405	92	9	..

JOHN GREGORY SMITH

Born in St. Albans, July 22, 1818, and graduated from the University of Vermont in 1841. He served in both branches of the State Legislature and was elected Speaker in 1862. In 1863 he was elected Governor, serving two years during a critical period of the Civil War. For many years he was president of the Central Vermont Railroad and deserves to be ranked among the great transportation managers of his generation. The building of the Canada Atlantic Railway was his plan. He was one of the pioneers of the Northern Pacific Railroad and its first president. He died November 6, 1891.

J. Gregory Smith

Lamoille	1,607	402	13	2
Orange	3,207	1,364	61	12
Orleans	2,007	494	6	2
Rutland	4,798	831	35	10
Washington ...	3,821	1,359	5	12
Windham	4,068	742	47	9
Windsor	5,706	1,273	66	3
Total ...	39,561	10,577	545	65

Vermont's Presidential Electors, the first chosen by the new Republican party, were William C. Bradley of Westminster, Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans, George W. Strong of Rutland, John Porter of Hartford and Portus Baxter of Derby.

Ryland Fletcher has been called the first Republican Governor of Vermont, but a better case can be made for his predecessor, Stephen Royce. Governor Royce, first nominated as a Whig in 1854, became the nominee of the elements combined in opposition to the policy of slavery in the Territories, but his renomination, in 1855, may fairly be called the work of the Republican party, even though the name was not used in the convention call.

Ryland Fletcher was born in Cavendish, February 18, 1799. He was able to secure only a common school education. He worked on his father's farm, teaching a district school in the winter. When only eighteen years old he joined a militia company, and was promoted, step by step, until he reached the rank of Brigadier General. He emigrated to the West but did not remain there long. He was an active anti-slavery man, and became a leader in this cause in Vermont. He was

elected Lieutenant Governor in 1854 and 1855, served two terms as Governor, represented Cavendish in the Legislature in 1861 and 1862, was Presidential Elector in 1864 and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1870. He died at his home in Cavendish, December 19, 1885.

Three new Congressmen were elected in 1856. George T. Hodges was born in Clarendon, July 4, 1789. After attending the common schools he engaged in business, and he was active in the building of the Rutland Railroad. He was president of the Bank of Rutland for more than twenty-five years. He represented Rutland in the Legislature from 1827 to 1829, and again in 1839 and 1840. He was a Senator from Rutland county, 1845-47, and was President Pro Tem, 1846-47. In 1848 he was a Presidential Elector. His Congressional service was limited to the unexpired term of James Meacham. He died at Rutland, August 9, 1860.

Eliakim P. Walton was born in Montpelier, February 17, 1812, being the eldest son of Gen. Ezekiel P. Walton. He fitted for college at the Washington County Grammar School but did not attend any institution of higher education. He entered the law office of Senator Samuel Prentiss but most of his education was obtained in his father's printing office. In 1833 he became a partner with his father in the publication of the *Vermont Watchman* and for thirty-five years he was engaged in active newspaper work. In any adequate list of Vermont journalists Mr. Walton's name would be included as one of the most influential men of his profession in the history of the State. Few Vermont editors have

wielded greater power than did Mr. Walton. An ardent Whig, he was one of the first among the leading men of Vermont to perceive that a new party must be organized to carry on the fight against slavery, and he was one of the most active leaders in organizing the Republican party in Vermont. He represented Montpelier in the Legislature in 1853 and was elected one of the Washington county Senators in 1874 and 1876. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1870. His Congressional career covered a period of six years. He published *Walton's Vermont Register* for many years, and also edited the eight volumes of "Governor and Council," one of the most valuable of the historical publications of the State. He was president of the Vermont Historical Society for several years and president of the Publishers' and Editors' Association of Vermont from its organization until 1881. The University of Vermont and Middlebury College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He died at his home in Montpelier, December 19, 1890.

Homer E. Royce was born at East Berkshire, June 14, 1819. He attended the academies at St. Albans and Enosburg, studied law and was admitted to the bar. He began the practice of law at Berkshire, in 1842, but removed to St. Albans in 1870. He represented Berkshire in the Legislature in 1846 and 1847, and again in 1862. He was one of the Franklin county Senators in 1849, 1850 and 1869. He was State's Attorney from 1846 to 1848 and a member of the Supreme Court from 1870 to 1890, serving as Chief Judge from 1882 to 1890. He was given two terms in Congress. The University

of Vermont conferred upon him the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws. He died at St. Albans, April 24, 1891.

In his message to the Legislature, Governor Fletcher expressed the belief that the principle of prohibition was in perfect accordance with the Constitution and in harmony with the obligations which the government owed the people. He protested against the evils of slavery and compared the hardships suffered by the Free State settlers in Kansas with those endured by the Vermont pioneers. "I earnestly suggest to your careful deliberation," said he, "the question whether in view of the great wrongs to which our citizens in Kansas are subjected, and the utter neglect of the General Government to protect them, some action is not required of you equal to the importance and emergency of their cause."

Among the important laws, enacted in 1856, was an act establishing a Board of Education, of three members, which should appoint a secretary, hold county institutes and recommend to the Legislature alterations, revisions or amendments of the existing school laws. A new militia law was passed, which provided that each member of a company, uniformed and equipped, might draw three dollars annually from the State for his services. The sum of twenty thousand dollars was placed at the disposal of the Governor to be used, if necessary, "for the purpose of furnishing food and clothing to such of the inhabitants of Kansas as may be in a suffering condition for the want thereof." This appropriation caused much comment throughout the United States. The *Richmond Enquirer* said: "Always foremost in

the path of infamy, Vermont has taken a step from which its more considerate sisters of New England shrank in prudent apprehensions of possible consequences." It spoke of the emigrants as "vagabonds and paupers—the refuse of the redundant population of New England." Representing a different point of view, Senator Seward wrote: "I honor, thank and reverence the State of Vermont for her beneficent gift to the oppressed and abused people of Kansas. It shows that the wrongs of the people have awakened the sympathies of the lovers of freedom in our country; and I doubt not that the blessed example will be followed by the other States whose institutions are founded on the rights of men."

After corresponding with acquaintances in Kansas as well as with officials of the Territory, Governor Fletcher learned that Vermont's appropriation was not needed, and the money was not used. The act was repealed the following year. The *Vermont Watchman* asserted that this appropriation "checked the Border Ruffians in their attempt to starve out the Free State men."

The Legislature commended Vermont's Senators and Representatives in Congress "for their earnest opposition to the extension of slavery," and they were thanked "for their faithfulness to the cause of freedom." Sympathy was extended to Senator Sumner, who was suffering from an assault committed by Preston S. Brooks, a Southern Congressman. The attack was condemned in vigorous terms and the declaration was made that "Vermont will stand finally and forever for the liberty of debate and the inviolability of legislative halls."

Vermont members were assured that the State would stand by them "in every needful emergency for the vindication of their rights, the rights of the State and the preservation of order, liberty and law." Charles Sumner's speech on Kansas was also approved.

Justin S. Morrill's first speech in Congress, delivered June 28, 1856, was in opposition to the admission of Kansas as a State with a pro-slavery Constitution. At the suggestion of Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania (a descendant and namesake of Governor Galusha of Vermont) Speaker Orr placed Mr. Morrill on the Ways and Means Committee, at the beginning of his second term. The Vermont member gained much prominence as a result of his opposition to the tariff bill of 1857, which he believed did not give agriculture sufficient protection. A little later, through his efforts, the first bill designed to suppress polygamy in Utah was passed in the House.

On December 9, 1856, Senator Collamer made a powerful speech on Government control of slavery in the Territories, closing with a fancied Declaration of Independence to be made by citizens of the Slave States in the event that the South seceded from the Union. Judge James Barrett said of this "Declaration" that it was "eminently Hogarthian in the quality of its satire."

David A. Smalley of Burlington was appointed United States District Judge to succeed Samuel Prentiss, deceased. Others considered for the position were Chief Judge Isaac F. Redfield of Derby, District Attorney Lucius B. Peck of Montpelier, Charles Linsley of Rutland and B. H. Smalley of St. Albans.

The interior of the State House was destroyed by fire on Tuesday, January 6, 1857. The weather had been intensely cold, and the furnaces had been in operation for two days to heat Representatives' Hall for the meeting of the Constitutional Convention. The floor and timbers above one furnace became over-heated and caught fire. A gale was blowing and the whole structure was soon in flames. The wood-work was destroyed but the walls remained standing. Most of the books in the Library, and the portrait of George Washington were saved, but the mineralogical collection and the greater part of the papers belonging to Henry Stevens were destroyed.

In order that the matter of rebuilding might not complicate the regular business of legislation, Governor Fletcher called the Legislature in special sèssion at Montpelier on February 18. The Senate met in the Washington County Court House and the sessions of the House were held in one of the local churches. With the opening of the session there began a contest for the location of the capital. A joint resolution, introduced in the House, provided for the removal of the seat of government to Burlington. A Senate resolution called for the repair of the State House. It was announced that Burlington was ready to furnish as good ground, foundation and building as those at Montpelier and to present them to the State. Several towns aspired to the honor of becoming the capital, but the principal contestants were Rutland, Montpelier and Burlington. The House went into committee of the whole to hear arguments in favor of these towns. Robert Pierpoint pre-

sented the claims of Rutland, Paul Dillingham appeared for Montpelier and George F. Edmunds argued in favor of Burlington. Two informal ballots were taken on February 20, the result of the second ballot being as follows: Montpelier, 102; Burlington, 81; Rutland, 27; Bellows Falls, 10; Middlebury, 2; Castleton, 2; Randolph, 1; Northfield, 1; Bradford, 1. A formal vote was taken in the House on the location of the capital on February 26, with the following result: Montpelier, 116; Burlington, 67; Rutland, 35; Bellows Falls, 8; Middlebury, 1; Northfield, 1. The vote in the Senate was as follows: Montpelier, 13; Burlington, 11; Rutland, 4; Middlebury, 1.

The attempt to remove the capital having been defeated, a bill to repair the State House was taken up, and the sum of forty thousand dollars was appropriated for repairs, improvements and necessary furnishings, provided the inhabitants of Montpelier, or individual citizens, should give good security to pay a sum equal to the whole cost of the work. On February 27, the day of adjournment, a bond was executed by Elisha P. Jewett, George W. Collamer and Erastus Hubbard, in the penal sum of one hundred thousand dollars. Governor Fletcher appointed as building commissioners, George P. Marsh of Burlington, Norman Williams of Woodstock and John Porter of Hartford. Thomas E. Powers of Woodstock was made superintendent. At the November session the sum of thirty thousand dollars was appropriated in addition to whatever amount should be paid by Montpelier. No demand was made upon the people of the capital, but about ten thousand dollars was

paid. The Legislature of 1858 refused to make an appropriation, and a fund of fifty-three thousand dollars was raised out of which, after the payment of interest, and the expenses of discounting the paper had been met, about forty thousand dollars was available. In 1859 the State voted an additional sum of thirty-four thousand dollars.

The style of architecture was the same as that of the second capitol, consisting of a central building with two wings. In front of the main edifice a Doric portico was erected, 72 feet, 8 inches in length, with a projection of 18 feet. This building was surmounted by a cupola and dome, 56 feet, 9 inches above the apex of the portico. This was surmounted by a statue of Agriculture, the work of Larkin G. Mead. The wings of the building were 52 feet long and 47 feet, 8 inches high. The width of each wing was 50 feet, 8 inches.

The Republican State Convention was held at Burlington, July 1, 1857. The platform, reported by George P. Marsh, declared that the people of Vermont had received the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case "with profound disappointment and regret." A protest was made against the sectional bias of the court. The admission of Kansas with a Constitution sanctioning slavery was opposed and a protest was made against the annexation of Cuba, either by filibustering or by purchase. Governor Fletcher was renominated and Henry Keyes again was named the Democratic candidate for Governor. The Whig ticket of the previous year was renominated. Naturally, the Democrats sought to encourage this feeble Whig move-

ment, but the party could not be revived. Governor Fletcher was reelected by a majority of 13,588 votes. The Senate was unanimously Republican. The Democratic strength in the House was about thirty. The official vote for Governor is given herewith: Fletcher (Rep.), 26,719; Keyes (Dem.), 12,869; scattering, 262.

In his message to the Legislature, Governor Fletcher called attention to the need of a more effective militia system. Alluding to the railroads of Vermont, he said that they "have yet generally proved unprofitable to those by whose energy and enterprise they were constructed. In some instances the mortgages given to secure the payment of their bonds have been foreclosed, and the original corporations divested of all interest in them. In other cases legal proceedings have been commenced to accomplish a similar result. The legal interest and management of most of our railroads will thus, in all probability soon be vested in trustees, under mortgages, while the equitable interest and real ownership will be in the bondholders. I think it desirable that some general law be enacted, providing, with suitable restrictions, that in such cases the bondholders may form themselves into new corporations for the management and operation of their respective roads, and that they may enjoy all the privileges and functions of the old companies." Although conditions did not demand the use of Vermont's appropriation in aid of needy settlers in Kansas, the Governor was proud of this act of benevolence and declared that he would always remember with grateful exultation the fact that the members of the General Assembly had "placed thus publicly upon our Statute

Book the evidence of their sympathy for the oppressed and destitute victims of the aggressive spirit of slavery." He feared that the Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court left little hope that "the spread of slavery will ever be stopped under our present form of government." "The logical results of this decision," he continued, "are alarming in the extreme. * * * When, if the alarming prostitution of every department of the General Government to the nefarious behests of slavery shall continue, the Supreme Court shall declare authoritatively what they have already foreshadowed, that the slaveholder may bring into the Free States his train of slaves and hold them there as his property, notwithstanding the absolute prohibition of slavery by their constitutions and laws, it will then, in that day of the doom of the Republic, be time for Vermont and her sister Free States to consider what course they shall take to maintain and enforce a right she has never yielded and will never surrender, the absolute and total prohibition of slavery within her borders."

A railroad law was passed in accordance with the Governor's suggestion, providing that when the mortgage of a railroad was foreclosed, a majority in amount of the bondholders secured by such mortgage might form a new corporation. The salary of the Governor was increased to one thousand dollars, and that of the Treasurer to five hundred dollars. The sum of eight hundred dollars was appropriated for a suitable figure to be placed on the State House dome. The Northern Vermont Railroad Company was incorporated, authorizing the building of a railroad from Montpelier to Newport.

The popular opposition of the Dred Scott decision was embodied in the following resolutions: "Resolved, That the opinions and views expressed by several members of that (the United States Supreme) Court, comprising its majority, upon questions not contained in the record in the Dred Scott case, are extra-judicial and political, possessing no color of authority or binding force, and that such views and opinions are wholly repudiated by the people of Vermont.

"Resolved, That Vermont reasserts the constitutional right of Congress to regulate slavery in the Territories of the Union, by legislative enactments; that such right is clearly conferred by the Constitution itself, and its timely exercise is indispensable to the safety and perpetuity of the Union."

At the opening of Congress in December, 1857, Senator Foot was assigned to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Senator Collamer to the Committees on Judiciary and Territories. In the House, Mr. Morrill was dropped from the Committee on Territories, with a change in the political control of that body, and was assigned to Agriculture. Mr. Royce was placed on the Foreign Affairs Committee and Mr. Walton was assigned to the Committee on Public Expenditures.

During this session Mr. Morrill introduced a bill, outlining what later was to become one of the great educational policies of the Nation. This measure provided for the granting of lands to each State and Territory for a college which should furnish special instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts. For that purpose twenty thousand acres for each electoral vote, valued at

one dollar and a quarter per acre, or one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars for Vermont, were set aside from the public lands. One-tenth of this area might be used for experimental farms but the remainder was to be used for endowment purposes. Each State was to dispose of the lands granted and construct necessary buildings. This bill came up for consideration on April 20, 1858, and Mr. Morrill supported it in a convincing speech. There was much opposition to the measure in the South, the principal opponent in the House being W. R. W. Cobb of Alabama. The bill was passed by a vote of 104 to 101. The *Woodstock Standard* referred to this bill as "the most popular measure that has been introduced into Congress for years." The Senate was supposed to contain a majority in favor of the bill, but Senators Clay of Alabama and Pugh of Ohio intimated that they would talk against time to prevent its passage before adjournment, and it was not considered. In 1859, the Senate amended the bill and passed it by a majority of three. The *Boston Journal,* commenting on the action of the Senate, referred to the act as "an imperishable monument of far-seeing patriotism." The House concurred in the Senate amendments, refusing by a vote of 108 to 95, to lay them on the table. President Buchanan, however, vetoed the bill.

Early in 1858, Speaker Orr announced a special committee to which was referred that portion of the President's message relating to Kansas affairs in which the President upheld the Lecompton, or pro-slavery Constitution, and Mr. Morrill of Vermont was appointed a member. In the Senate this portion of the message was

referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Senator Collamer was a member. Senator Foot attacked the Lecompton Constitution and Senator Collamer made a strong speech, setting forth the Free State attitude, having previously presented a minority report for Senator Wade of Ohio and himself. In Senator Collamer's speech he discussed thoroughly the constitutional right to consider slaves as property and to take such property into States which did not permit the holding of slaves. This speech was attacked by Senator Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, one of the ablest debaters and jurists in the Senate, afterward the Secretary of State under the Confederate government, and still later one of the leading lawyers at the London bar, but Senator Collamer's argument stood the test unimpaired. In the House, Mr. Walton attacked the President's Kansas policy. The majority of the special committee on Kansas refused to investigate the subject. To Mr. Morrill was assigned the task of preparing the report of the minority. Thus two Vermont men, Collamer in the Senate and Morrill in the House, led the Free State cause and presented the minority reports, protesting against the attempt to force upon Kansas a constitution recognizing slavery.

Although Vermont was a stronghold of anti-slavery sentiment, the radical Abolitionists did not have a large following. At an anti-slavery convention held at Bradford, January 26 and 27, 1858, an attempt was made to adopt a resolution declaring, "that the Union which was formed in sin should be dissolved, and the Constitution, which was formed and adopted in iniquity, should be repudiated, and thus the way prepared for the establish-

ment of a new Northern Republic in which justice and righteousness may prevail." This resolution was opposed by Governor Fletcher, and after a long debate was defeated. During this period Republicans were generally called Black Republicans by their opponents.

Heretofore the Republican State Conventions had not been called under a distinctive party name, although the word Republican had been generally used, but in 1858 the call was issued for a Republican convention, which was held at Montpelier, on June 29. In the resolutions reported by Daniel Roberts, it was declared, "That as representatives of the Republican party of Vermont we glory in the record which our State holds up to the world upon the questions which concern the natural rights and liberties of man—that she has never for one moment, by constitution or laws, sanctioned the guilty fantasy that there can be property in man; that the claim of superiority by birth, proscription or laws, finds no warrant in her annals; but that the great truths of the Declaration of Independence, sneered at by some, and impiously denied by others, have been to our people a solemn and living reality." Reference was made to the Dred Scott decision as "that crowning shame upon Law, Religion and History, crimsoning the records of the Supreme Court of the United States." Hiland Hall of Bennington was nominated for Governor, and Burnham Martin of Chelsea, for Lieutenant Governor. Some votes were cast for Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans for Governor.

The Democratic State Convention, held at Bellows Falls on July 8, declared in its platform: "We heartily congratulate our worthy Chief Magistrate, James

Buchanan, his Cabinet and the National Democracy of the Union, on the disinterested, patriotic, triumphant and satisfactory settlement of the Kansas question, which has not only restored peace and domestic tranquility to Kansas, but also successfully withdrawn that exciting topic from national politics and Congress and Legislatures." Henry Keyes of Newbury was nominated for Governor and Wyllys Lyman of Burlington for Lieutenant Governor.

The Vermont Teachers' Association was holding a State Convention at Bellows Falls, when the news came of the opening of the Atlantic Cable, and the exchange of messages between President Buchanan and Queen Victoria. The business of the convention was suspended, an appropriate Scripture lesson was read, prayer was offered by President Calvin Pease of the University of Vermont, and "Old Hundred" was sung. At Brandon, on September 1, 1858, in connection with the annual muster of the State Militia, the opening of the Atlantic Cable was celebrated by the ringing of bells, an illumination, a torchlight procession and speeches by Governor Fletcher, Lieutenant Governor Slade, Congressman E. P. Walton, Hiland Hall, Daniel Roberts, and others. Governor Fletcher, in behalf of the people of Vermont, telegraphed Cyrus W. Field, the leading spirit in securing communication by wire across the Atlantic, congratulating him on "the successful termination of the stupendous enterprise of connecting the Old World with the New," adding, "What God in His providence has joined together let no man put asunder." Senator Collamer, for the Committee on Post-Offices and

Post-Roads, had reported in favor of a bill aiding the ocean telegraph enterprise, when it was proposed in Congress; and as soon as Cyrus W. Field returned to the United States from England, he telegraphed the Vermont Senator: "Having just arrived in the United States, I desire at the earliest moment to tender you my thanks for your aid in behalf of the great enterprise which has terminated to the satisfaction of its most ardent friends." In a speech delivered at Burlington, Mr. Field called attention to the fact that when a board of directors for the cable company was organized in London, "one of the most intelligent, energetic and judicious members" was Curtis L. Lampson, a native of New Haven, Vt., then a London merchant. Mr. Lampson was afterward knighted by Queen Victoria.

In the fall election, Hiland Hall was chosen Governor by a majority of 16,140. The official vote was:

Hiland Hall	29,660
Henry Keyes	13,338
Scattering	182

The Legislature was largely Republican, one Democratic Senator being elected. George F. Edmunds of Burlington was chosen Speaker, receiving 188 votes, while 38 were cast for Horace Wadsworth (Dem.). The Republican Congressmen were reelected, the majorities being as follows: Walton, 5,939; Morrill, 6,726; Royce, 4,129.

In his message to the Legislature, Governor Hall asserted that the State government of Vermont was more purely democratic in its character than any other

in America, and probably more democratic than any other in the world. In discussing the militia laws he referred to the dread of standing armies, which (dread) our forefathers brought with them from over seas. The early settlers were accustomed to a daily use of firearms. The military spirit prevailed until the close of the War of 1812, after which the character and efficiency of the militia rapidly declined. Service was looked upon as a needless burden. There were two classes of militia, the enrolled and the uniformed. The listers made annual returns to the Adjutant General of all persons capable of bearing arms, and they were divided nominally into regiments, brigades and divisions. The uniformed militia consisted of volunteers, one or two companies from each regiment, who provided their own equipment, arms excepted, and their own uniforms, and were subject to drill, inspection and muster. The general subject of the militia was recommended to the attention of the Legislature. The sympathy of the people for the Free State men in Kansas was expressed and disapproval of the Dred Scott decision was declared.

The Legislature amended the school law, providing a superintendent of schools for each town. One of the most important measures was an act to secure freedom to all persons "within the State." It provided that "no person within this State shall be considered as property, nor shall any person within the limits of this State at any time be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law." Any person not an inhabitant of the State, arrested or detained as owing service or labor, was

entitled to trial by jury. Every person depriving or attempting to deprive any other person of his liberty, contrary to the provisions of the act, was subject to a fine varying from five hundred dollars to two thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding ten years. One section of the law declared that "neither descent near or remote from an African, whether such African is or may have been a slave, or not, nor color of skin or complexion, shall disqualify any person from becoming a citizen of this State, nor deprive such person of the rights and privileges thereof." The act provided that every person who might have been held as a slave, whether brought with or without the consent of the owner, or who came voluntarily or involuntarily into the State, should be free. An attempt to hold any person as a slave in Vermont "for any time, however short," on conviction was to be confined in the State Prison from one to fifteen years, and fined a sum not to exceed two thousand dollars. This bill was reported by Mr. Marsh of Brandon for a select committee, and was one of the most drastic of the numerous anti-slavery measures adopted in Vermont.

The opinion of the Legislature regarding the Dred Scott decision was expressed in these resolutions: "Resolved, That the doctrine maintained by a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, that slavery now exists by virtue of the Constitution of the United States in all the Territories, and in all places where the Federal Government has jurisdiction—that the Constitution carries slavery wherever it extends

—has no warrant in the Constitution or in the legislative or judicial history of the country.

"Resolved, That these extra-judicial opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States are a dangerous usurpation of power, and have no binding authority upon Vermont or the people of the United States.

"Resolved, That no ingenious sophistry of the Judges of that court can make it appear that the citizens of each State are not citizens of the United States; and entitled as such, to all rights and privileges of the citizens of the several States.

"Resolved, That whenever the government or judiciary of the United States refuses or neglects to protect the citizens of each State in their lives or liberty, when in another State or Territory, it becomes the duty of the sovereign and independent States of this Union to protect their own citizens at whatever hazard or cost."

The Legislature refused to rebuild the Capitol except at the expense of Montpelier. There was considerable discussion of the bill to extend the Vermont & Canada Railroad. A charter was granted to the village of Brattleboro.

One of the policies of the Buchanan administration in 1858-59 was the acquisition of Cuba. Congressman Royce, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, wrote a part of the committee report opposing Cuban annexation and delivered a speech in opposition to the President's Cuban policy. Senator Collamer delivered an elaborate speech in which he opposed a bill appropriating thirty million dollars to facilitate the acquisition

of Cuba, as a measure designed to strengthen the slave power.

The eighty-second anniversary of the battle of Hubbardton was observed on July 7, a monument of Rutland marble being dedicated on the battle field in the presence of about five thousand people. Henry Clark of Poultney delivered an historical address and speeches were made by D. E. Nicholson of Wallingford, Colonel Allen of Fair Haven and Congressman E. P. Walton of Montpelier. A feature of the exercises was a sham battle between the Allen Greys, representing the British soldiers, and the Green Mountain Boys.

The Democratic State Convention, held June 15, 1859, nominated John G. Saxe of Burlington, the well known poet, for Governor, and Stephen Thomas of West Fairlee for Lieutenant Governor. The chairman of the committee on resolutions was Charles G. Eastman of Montpelier, another Vermont poet, and he reported a platform which declared that the laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska embodied "the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question, non-interference by Congress with slavery in State or Territory or in the District of Columbia." The acquisition of Cuba was favored.

The Republican State Convention, held on July 12, renominated the State ticket headed by Gov. Hiland Hall. The platform declared that the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty was "a delusion and a cheat," and condemned President Buchanan's course in vetoing the Morrill Land Grant College bill as "an act deserving the severest censure of a free people, the basis of whose

prosperity is agriculture and the mechanic arts." Chairman L. E. Chittenden of the State Committee reported that Vermont was the only New England State to hold mass conventions for the nomination of a State ticket, and on motion of Prof. G. W. Benedict of Burlington, a delegate convention was authorized.

Governor Hall was reelected by a majority of 16,700, the official vote being, Hall, 31,045; Saxe, 14,328; scattering, 17. George F. Edmunds of Burlington was reelected Speaker. In his annual message Governor Hall referred to the new State House as "a noble and imposing structure," of which the people of Vermont had reason to be proud. Prohibition of the sale of liquor had become, he said, "the settled and approved policy of the State." Vermont, of all the New England States, was without a reformatory for juvenile offenders. He protested against the encroachment upon the authority of the executive by means of joint resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. A protest was made against the introduction of slavery into the Territories. Governor Hall announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection.

The legislative session of 1859 provided for an annual instead of a biennial inspection of the militia. A bill authorizing the erection of a statue of Ethan Allen for the State House passed the House, after a spirited debate, by a vote of 110 to 98. The Senate passed the bill by a vote of 27 to 0. A marble statue was erected on the portico of the State House, Larkin G. Mead, a native of this State, being the sculptor. It was unveiled in 1861.

After the execution of John Brown, on December 2, 1859, following his arrest for an attempt to free the slaves at Harper's Ferry, Va., Gov. Henry A. Wise delivered the body to Mrs. Brown, who brought it to New York, and thence to Vergennes. The Lake Champlain steamers had been taken off their routes for the winter and the body was taken by team to Adams' Ferry and across the lake to Westport, N. Y. The next day the funeral party proceeded to Brown's home at North Elba, N. Y. The funeral was held on December 8, Rev. Joshua Young of Burlington being the officiating clergyman. Wendell Phillips, the famous orator, and anti-slavery leader, attended the services. On his return from North Elba he addressed a largely attended meeting at Vergennes, denouncing slavery. It is said that one of the substantial citizens, after the delivery of the speech, told Mr. Phillips that he had been a member of an Orthodox church for many years, but he had heard more of God's truth that night than ever before in all his life. Governor Wise of Virginia was burned in effigy at Brattleboro following the execution of John Brown. Senator Collamer was appointed a member of a special committee to investigate the Harper's Ferry episode.

The census of 1860 reported the population of Vermont as 315,098. This was a gain of only 978, or 0.3 per cent. There was much dissatisfaction over the poor showing made by the State, and the accuracy of the census was questioned. In the town of Georgia the Selectmen ordered a new enumeration and reported that the census takers had omitted one hundred and eighty-

five persons. A legislative committee was appointed to consider the expediency of taking a new census. The report was to the effect that the enumeration probably was incorrect but the taking of a new census was not considered advisable.

Burlington again ranked as the largest town in the State, and Rutland was a close second. The towns which reported a population greater than 2,500, were as follows: Burlington, 7,713; Rutland, 7,577; Bennington, 4,389; Northfield, 4,329; Brattleboro, 3,855; St. Albans, 3,637; St. Johnsbury, 3,469; Brandon, 3,077; Woodstock, 3,062; Colchester, 3,041; Springfield, 2,958; Rockingham, 2,904; Middlebury, 2,879; Castleton, 2,852; Swanton, 2,678; Newbury, 2,549; Danville, 2,544; Highgate, 2,526; Randolph, 2,502.

The population by counties was as follows:

Addison	24,010
Bennington	19,436
Caledonia	21,698
Chittenden	28,171
Essex	5,786
Franklin	27,231
Grand Isle	4,276
Lamoille	12,311
Orange	25,455
Orleans	18,981
Rutland	35,946
Washington	27,622
Windham	25,982
Windsor	37,193

Seven counties gained and seven lost, during the decade. The approximate gains were as follows: Bennington, 1,000; Essex, 1,100; Grand Isle, 130; Lamoille, 1,400; Orleans, 3,270; Rutland, 2,880; Washington, 3,000. The approximate losses were Addison, 2,500; Caledonia, 2,000; Chittenden, 1,000; Franklin, 1,350; Orange, 1,800; Windham, 2,000; Windsor, 1,100.

In 1860 Vermont ranked twenty-third as a manufacing State. There were 1,883 manufacturing establishments, employing 10,497 wage earners. The capital invested was $9,498,617, and the value of the manufactured product was $14,637,807. There were in the State 46 woolen mills and the average number of wage earners was 2,073. The capital invested was $1,746,300 and the value of the product was $2,938,626. Two hosiery mills reported an output of $102,800. There were five wool carding mills, the annual value of their product being $22,511. There were eight cotton mills in the State, containing 17,600 spindles and 362 looms. The number of employees was 379; the capital invested, $271,200; and the value of the products, $357,450. There were 149 boot and shoe establishments, employing 545 hands, and the annual value of the product was $442,566. One cordage factory produced 19 tons, valued at $10,000. Vermont's two scale factories produced goods valued at $665,000, or more than half the scale output of the United States. There were 32 agricultural implement factories, with an output valued at $167,347. There were 108 leather manufactories, 133 carriage shops, 64 furniture factories, 60 establishments making tin, copper and sheet iron ware, 24 shops manu-

facturing machinery, 50 marble working establishments, 16 marble quarries, 14 slate quarries, two pig iron mills, one bar, sheet and railroad iron mill, one car wheel mill, one sewing machine factory, and one nail factory. Paper mill products were valued at $227,800. Rutland county ranked first, with 336 manufacturing establishments; Windham second, with 232; Windsor third, with 225, and Chittenden fourth, with 202.

Agricultural statistics show that in 1860 there were in Vermont 2,823,157 acres of improved and 1,451,257 acres of unimproved land, valued at $94,289,045. The average value per farm was $3,619 and the average value per acre $26.72. Farming implements were valued at $3,665,955. The State contained 69,071 horses, 174,667 milch cows, 42,639 working oxen, 153,144 other cattle, 752,201 sheep, and 52,912 swine. The value of live stock was $16,241,989. Crop reports showed 437,037 bushels of wheat, 139,271 bushels of rye, 1,525,411 bushels of corn, 3,630,267 bushels of oats, 79,211 bushels of barley, 5,253,498 bushels of potatoes, 70,654 pounds of peas and beans, 225,415 bushels of buckwheat, 940,178 tons of hay, 12,245 pounds of tobacco, 7,077 pounds of flax and 638,677 pounds of hops. The statistics show that during this year 623 bushels of sweet potatoes were grown in Vermont, of which 538 bushels were produced in Orleans county, and the remainder in Caledonia, Grand Isle and Windsor counties. Other agricultural products reported were: Orchard products, $211,693; butter, 15,900,359 pounds; cheese, 8,215,030 pounds; wool, 3,118,950 pounds; maple sugar, 9,897,781 pounds; maple syrup, 16,253 gallons; honey, 212,150 pounds.

Vermont ranked second in pounds of hops, third in pounds of cheese, fifth in pounds of butter, seventh in bushels of potatoes, eleventh in bushels of buckwheat, fourteenth in bushels of oats, sixteenth in bushels of barley, eighteenth in bushels of rye, twenty-sixth in bushels of wheat, thirtieth in bushels of corn, thirteenth in number of sheep, nineteenth in number of milch cows, twenty-second in value of live stock, twenty-third in number of other cattle, twenty-fourth in number of horses, thirty-first in number of swine, twenty-second in cash value of farms, and twenty-fourth in value of farm machinery and implements.

In 1860 Vermont was the first flax producing State in New England, and manufactured more cheese than all the Western States exclusive of Ohio. Concerning wool, the census report for 1860 said: "At present as fine sheep as any in the world are produced, especially in Vermont. * * * At the International Exhibition in Hamburg, in June, 1863, Vermont Merino sheep took two first prizes, as having the heaviest fleeces and the longest wool of any of that class exhibited, although the choicest flocks of Europe were represented."

Business conditions at the opening of the year 1860 were far from satisfactory. The country had passed through a severe panic in 1857, and had not recovered from its effects. During President Buchanan's term the treasury receipts had not been sufficient to meet the annual appropriations of Congress and the steadily mounting national debt was seriously impairing the credit of the United States. The necessity of raising more revenue was apparent, and a sub-committee of the

Ways and Means Committee was appointed to formulate a tariff bill, with Mr. Morrill of Vermont as chairman. Henry Winter Davis of Maryland and William A. Howard of Michigan, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and George H. Pendleton of Ohio also assisted in the task.

Although he came from a rural State, and his business had been that of a country merchant and farmer, Mr. Morrill brought to his responsibe task a mind singularly well fitted for dealing with this great financial problem. Speaking at a later date of his training for this work and referring to the beginning of his mercantile career, he said:

"At that time, the *Boston Courier* and the *Boston Advertiser* published with the price lists of raw articles the rate of duty on them. These papers were taken by me and from them I learned my tariff A B C's, and I got my first definite figures about the rate of duty. I gained more information from the *National Intelligencer,* published in Washington. It was our best political authority and it contained very able articles by such men as Gales. I also obtained such books on political economy as Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' and then I began to attend Whig public meetings. South Carolina's nullification compelled General Jackson, as well as everybody else, to study the tariff." Mr. Morrill toiled early and late on the preparation of the tariff bill, and in March, 1860, he introduced the measure in the House, opening the debate in an able speech, in which he said: "No prohibitory duties have been aimed at; but to place our people upon the level of fair competition with the rest of

the world was thought to be no more than reasonable. Most of the highest duties fixed upon have been so fixed more with a view to revenue than protection." The bill raised the duties on imported merchandise from an average of 19 per cent to an average of 36 per cent. The bill not only dealt with the fixing of duties on imports but it also provided for the payment of outstanding treasury notes and gave the President authority to borrow an additional ten million dollars in bonds or treasury notes and to substitute treasury notes for the whole or any part of money he was authorized to borrow by previous acts.

This measure passed the House on May 10, 1860, by a majority of forty-one. Referring to the passage of this bill, Mr. Morrill said:

"A good many things in the House which I did not want have been put in the bill. The majority had not always agreed with me nor with the Ways and Means Committee, but had rather botched it in some places. John Sherman, who was acting chairman of our committee, came to me and said: 'Have you a clean copy of the bill as you want it to be? If you have, give it to me and I will have it passed.' I gave him a copy of the bill as I desired to have it and it was reported to the House by Mr. Sherman and moved as a substitute for the bill which had been under consideration in committee of the whole and it was passed under the previous question as the Kansas-Nebraska bill had been passed by the Democrats."

The bill came up in the Senate at the next session, early in 1861, and by a strict party vote of twenty-five to

fourteen was adopted substantially as it passed the House. There was much Southern opposition to the measure but owing to the secession of several States, enough Democrats had left the Senate to give the Republicans a substantial majority, and this made possible the passage of the bill on March 2, 1861. The measure was signed by President Buchanan on March 3, 1861, the day before he went out of office. This measure was called the Morrill tariff by James Brooks of New York and others, who bitterly opposed it, and the name stuck.

One of the great tasks accomplished in this bill was the change of almost the entire system of revenue from an ad valorem to a specific basis. James G. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of Congress" refers to the Morrill tariff as "a change equivalent to a revolution in the economic and financial system of the Government."

Mr. Blaine further says: "The passage of the Morrill tariff was an event which would almost have marked an era in the history of the Government if public opinion had not been at once absorbed in struggles which were far more engrossing than those of legislative halls. It was, however, the beginning of a series of enactments which deeply affected the interests of the country and which exerted no small influence upon the financial ability of the Government to endure the heavy expenditure entailed by the war which immediately followed.

"It was a singular combination of circumstances which on the eve of the revolt, led to the inauguration of the policy that gave such industrial and financial strength to the Union in its hour of dire necessity and the very

Gen. George J. Stannard

crisis of its fate. * * * The Morrill tariff was found to meet the exigencies of the situation to such a degree that when Congress came together in response to the call of President Lincoln Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, as head of the committee charged with the subject, informed the House that it had been determined not to enter upon a general revision."

In this connection, Mr. Blaine spoke of Mr. Morrill as "one of the most useful, industrious, and honorable members of the House."

Nicolay and Hay's "Life of Abraham Lincoln" says of the Morrill Tariff Act, that it "had the double effect of materially increasing the customs receipts and stimulating the productive energies of the country. It went into operation on the first of April (1861), and thus its quickening and strengthening help came just at the opportune moment, when the Nation was compelled to gird up its loins for a gigantic war. * * * When a few days later, Lincoln became President and Chase Secretary of the Treasury, they could look with a little less dizziness into the financial gulf already open, and constantly widening before their vision, remembering that by the terms of this act they had power to issue about forty millions of treasury notes without further legislation."

The Democratic National Convention of 1860 met at Charleston, S. C., on April 23. The Vermont delegates-at-large were Ex-Gov. John S. Robinson of Bennington, Henry Keyes of Newbury, Jasper Rand of West Berkshire and E. M. Brown of Woodstock. The district delegates were Charles G. Eastman of Montpelier,

Pitt W. Hyde of Hydeville, E. B. Chase of Lyndon, Henry E. Stoughton of Bellows Falls, Lucius Robinson of Newport and H. B. Smith of Milton. Stephen Thomas of West Fairlee acted as alternate for Mr. Chase. The convention was called to order by Judge David A. Smalley of Vermont, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Jasper Rand was named as vice president for Vermont and Pitt W. Hyde was appointed one of the secretaries, being made chairman of the recording secretaries. On the morning of the third day of the convention, Ex-Governor Robinson, chairman of the Vermont delegation, died suddenly of apoplexy at his rooms at the Mills House. His death was announced to the Convention by Mr. Stoughton. On motion of a Florida delegate, suitable resolutions were adopted and the convention adjourned as a mark of respect. On the following day the delegates accompanied the body from the hotel to the New York steamboat.

In the contest over the adoption of a platform, the Vermont delegates supported the Free State faction of the party favoring the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty advocated by Senator Douglas. Vermont supported Douglas as a Presidential candidate on all of the fifty-seven ballots taken, until the convention adjourned without reaching a choice. When it reassembled at Baltimore on June 18, the majority of the Vermont delegation supported the report of the committee on credentials advocated by the friends of Douglas, but a minority opposed. Vermont supported Douglas until his nomination was secured, although Mr. Stoughton challenged

the accuracy of the vote and became a member of the seceding convention which nominated John C. Breckenridge for President, being the only Vermont representative in that body. Thirty guns were fired at Brandon on June 26, in honor of the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidency; and citizens assembled in front of the candidate's birthplace in that village and gave three cheers.

The Democratic State Convention, attended by supporters of Senator Douglas, nominated John G. Saxe of Burlington for Governor, Stephen Thomas of West Fairlee for Lieutenant Governor, and Isaac E. Bowdish of Swanton and Paul Dillingham of Waterbury for Electors-at-large. Stephen Thomas, one of the Democratic delegates, described the sessions of the National Convention and referred to H. E. Stoughton as a traitor to his party. In his opinion the nomination of Douglas, a son of Vermont, would strengthen the Democratic ticket, adding thousands of votes to the regular party strength. President Buchanan supported the Breckinridge faction of the party, and Mr. Saxe spoke disparagingly of the President's Democracy. He said Vermont Democrats were asked to spit upon their platform, turn a double somersault, and proclaim themselves in favor of a slave code for the Territories. For one he found it hazardous to put very implicit trust in Princes or Presidents. This convention was attended by about one hundred and twenty-five persons.

The Breckinridge faction of the Democratic party held a State Convention at White River Junction, August 7. Every county was represented and the esti-

mated attendance varied from seven hundred to one thousand. It was said at the time to have been one of the most largely attended Democratic conventions ever held in Vermont. The convention was called to order by Henry E. Stoughton of Bellows Falls, Willys Lyman of Burlington was temporary chairman and A. M. Dickey of Bradford was elected president of the convention. Hiram Atkins of Bellows Falls was one of the secretaries. This ticket was nominated: For Governor, Robert Harvey of Barnet; Lieutenant Governor, Giles Harrington of Alburg; Treasurer, Samuel Wells of Montpelier; Electors-at-large, Henry R. Campbell of Burlington and Ephraim Chamberlin of St. Johnsbury. Speeches were made by Timothy P. Redfield and others. Breckinridge district and county conventions were called and the support for the Southern element of the party seemed formidable, particularly so when it was considered that the nominee of the Northern faction was a native Vermonter. Five Vermont newspapers supported Douglas and four advocated the election of Breckinridge. Election day, however, showed the Breckinridge vote to be much smaller than the attendance at the White River Junction convention had indicated.

The call for the Republican National Convention was signed by Lawrence Brainerd, the Vermont member of the National Committee. Previous to the opening of the convention at Chicago it was reported that Vermont sentiment was divided between William H. Seward of New York and Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts as Presidential candidates. The delegates-at-large were E. N. Briggs of Brandon, P. T. Washburn of Wood-

stock, E. D. Mason of Richmond and E. D. Redington of St. Johnsbury. The district delegates were John W. Stewart of Middlebury, E. B. Burton of Manchester, Hugh H. Henry of Chester, William Hebard of Chelsea, William Clapp of St. Albans and Edward B. Sawyer of Hyde Park. Mr. Washburn was elected chairman and Mr. Sawyer, secretary.

No Presidential candidate had a clear majority, and there was a keen competition for the unpledged delegates. On May 15, Messrs. Curtin and McClure of Pennsylvania appeared before the Vermont delegation on behalf of Edward Bates of Missouri. Horace Greeley of New York also appeared in the interest of Mr. Bates. William M. Evarts advocated the candidacy of Mr. Seward and made a forceful and an impressive argument, which, it is said, would have won the Vermonters, had not Indiana and New Jersey delegates asserted that Seward could not possibly be elected. The contest resolved itself into the field against Seward, and most of the Vermonters wanted to support the New York candidate. Reluctantly they abandoned him, being convinced that he could not win. It was known that the first ballot would be indecisive and Vermont's votes were cast for Senator Jacob Collamer, as a deserved compliment to a fellow Vermonter, and in order to await developments. On the second ballot the Vermont delegation voted for Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. The *Burlington Free Press* correspondent wrote of this action: "This presaged and greatly influenced the final result. It is, perhaps, too much to assert that the vote of Vermont decided the matter; but still the fact that

Vermont, with all her preference for Mr. Seward, was the first State to change her vote entire to Mr. Lincoln was a most unfavorable omen for Mr. Seward's prospects, and the faces of his friends dropped visibly as the vote of Vermont was declared." On the succeeding ballots the Vermont votes were cast for Lincoln until he was nominated. On motion of Mr. Washburn of Vermont the thanks of the convention were tendered to Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts, the presiding officer, for his ability and courtesy.

The nomination of Lincoln was cordially received in Vermont. At Burlington a flag was raised and it was saluted by a discharge from a cannon brought from the Vergennes arsenal. The *Burlington Free Press* declared that a large majority of Vermont voters would have preferred Seward, but said: "It is a noble nomination of a noble and true hearted Republican." The *Montpelier Watchman* said: "We firmly believe that if it had been left to Vermont alone to say who should be the next President of the United States, William H. Seward would have been the man. But other States saw and expressed their want of ability to give him their electoral vote, and indicated another man. Vermont was safe also for the man who would carry the doubtful States, and her first choice was yielded to the good of the cause —the almost certain prospect of defeat with Mr. Seward was yielded to the certain prospect of victory with Mr. Lincoln—and the people already approve the course of their delegates. Lincoln and Hamlin will be the watchword that will light up the Green Mountain hills until next November."

The State Republican Convention was held at Rutland on June 27. The contest for the Governorship nomination was between Frederick Holbrook of Brattleboro and Ex-Governor Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury. Mr. Holbrook's name was withdrawn, however, before a ballot was taken. The ticket nominated was headed by the names of Erastus Fairbanks for Governor and Levi Underwood of Burlington for Lieutenant Governor. Peter T. Washburn, one of Vermont's delegates to Chicago, related the story of the National Convention, saying that Vermont was the first of all the States to change its entire vote to Lincoln.

The Constitutional Union party, made up largely of old line Whigs and remnants of the Know Nothing party, nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice President. A State Convention representing this party was held at White River Junction on September 5, and nominated an Electoral ticket.

An incident of the campaign of 1860 was the visit of Stephen A. Douglas to his native State. He arrived at Rutland on Saturday, July 28, spent Sunday in his native town of Brandon, and arrived at Burlington with Mrs. Douglas on Monday morning, July 30. He was met at the railroad station by Judge David A. Smalley, I. B. Bowdish, John G. Saxe and George P. Marsh. Mr. Marsh supported Lincoln but had known Mr. Douglas in Congress. The candidate was escorted to the Town Hall by the Howard Guards, where he addressed a large audience, speaking nearly an hour. He started out with the intention of delivering a non-partisan speech

but during the course of his remarks he defended the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, for which he apologized. He closed with a complimentary allusion to Burlington, saying he had visited the most beautiful portions of Europe, but considered this the most beautiful town site in the world. Returning to the American House, he met delegations from St. Albans, Plattsburg, N. Y., and other towns, leaving for Montpelier in the evening.

The Presidential candidate reached the State capital about eleven o'clock, Monday night, where a great crowd awaited his arrival. Shops and dwellings were illuminated, bonfires were kindled, cannon were fired, fireworks were burned and a torchlight procession formed an escort. He was taken to the Pavilion Hotel and from the balcony addressed the assembled throng. He expressed his gratitude for the greetings of people of all political parties, alluded to the early history of Vermont, discussed Popular Sovereignty, which he said was nothing more or less than simply minding one's own business and letting one's neighbor alone. On Tuesday morning he called on Charles G. Eastman, then stricken with a fatal illness, made a brief visit to the State House, and left for Concord, N. H. Mr. Eastman's health failed while he was attending the Charleston Convention. He was taken ill at Burlington, where he remained several weeks before he could be removed to his home in Montpelier. He died September 16, 1860.

Governor Fairbanks was elected by a majority of more than twenty thousand. The official vote was as follows: Erastus Fairbanks, 34,188; John G. Saxe, 11,795; Robert Harvey, 2,115; scattering, 3. There were twenty-

one Democratic members in the House, and one in the Senate. Augustus P. Hunton of Bethel was elected Speaker. The Governor delivered his message in person instead of transmitting it in writing, according to the usual custom. He favored the election of Town Representatives, and all officers chosen by the General Assembly, by plurality vote. Referring to threats of secession by Southern States, he said that the people of Vermont "can never be compromised with schemes for its (the Union's) dissolution but will resist the hand that dares to 'calculate its value,' and will invoke if necessary, the national arm for its preservation." He favored a protective tariff and internal improvements, and announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection.

The Legislature passed an act to prevent prize fighting and fixed a penalty for bringing into the State cattle known to have been exposed to pleuro-pneumonia. A deficit was reported in the accounts of J. M. Bates, State Treasurer. The Ways and Means Committee investigated his affairs and found that they had been loosely kept for a long time, there being errors in favor of and against the State in dealing with the towns. He assigned to his bondsmen property which he valued at thirty-five thousand dollars. The Legislature passed a bill providing for better protection of the State Treasury. A joint resolution was adopted, directing the committee appointed to revise the statutes, to examine all laws and resolutions "heretofore enacted and now in force in this State bearing upon the rendition of fugitive slaves," and to report at the next session if any of their provisions were in conflict with the Constitution of the

United States. This action was taken in response to criticisms of drastic Vermont laws designed to protect colored refugees. A bill to repeal the Personal Liberty act, so-called, introduced by Stephen Thomas, came up on the last night of the session, and was defeated by a vote of 125 to 58.

Senator Collamer was reelected, receiving 27 votes in the Senate and 198 in the House. Paul Dillingham, the Democratic candidate, received one vote in the Senate and 24 in the House.

Congressman Walton was reelected by a majority of 6,708 votes and Congressman Morrill's majority was 8,281. Mr. Morrill had declined to be a candidate for another term, his arduous labors having impaired his health to some extent. The convention, however, insisted upon his renomination, and he accepted the honor. The only new member of the delegation was Portus Baxter of Derby, whose majority was 5,019. He was born in Brownington, December 4, 1806, and attended the public schools, Norwich University and the University of Vermont. He was Assistant Judge of Orleans County Court, 1846-47, and was chosen a Presidential Elector in 1852 and again in 1856. He served three terms in Congress and died at Washington March 4, 1868. For many years he was a power in Vermont politics, although he declined often to accept official positions.

On the eve of the Presidential election the Vermont newspapers contained allusions to threats of disunion frequently made by the Southern press and the Southern leaders. The *Montpelier Watchman* said: "Let them go if they are bent upon it. Let them go, bag and bag-

gage, with all they are entitled to. Let them go unharmed, unwhipt, unhung; and joy go with them if this be possible. Were a single State or a dozen States to secede with the approbation of their people, we see no better way than to suspend at once all Federal laws, within their jurisdiction, and to put them on the footing of most favored foreign nations."

Lincoln carried every Vermont county by large majorities. His majority in Vermont was 23,050 and his plurality over Douglas was 25,159. A heavy rain fell on election day and the *Burlington Free Press* estimated that the storm reduced the Republican majority by at least 7,000. Douglas' vote was more than four times as large as that given Breckinridge, who led Douglas in only one county, Windham.

The Vermont vote by counties is given herewith:

	Lincoln	*Douglas*	*Breckinridge*	*Bell*	*Abolition*	*Scattering*
Addison	2,626	344	47	17	..	1
Bennington ...	1,937	710	94	12	..	..
Caledonia	2,139	581	189	20	..	1
Chittenden ...	2,241	545	69	25	3	..
Essex	646	312	10	1	..	..
Franklin	1,979	538	127	20	..	..
Grand Isle ...	333	89	41	5	..	1
Lamoille	1,280	312	37	3	..	..
Orange	2,714	973	212	38	..	..
Orleans	1,749	293	120	6	2	..
Rutland	4,178	1,348	116	23	..	1
Washington ...	2,941	1,209	43	4	9	8
Windham	3,732	461	470	17	..	..
Windsor	5,313	934	291	26	..	..
Total...	33,808	8,649	1,866	217	14	12

The Vermont Presidential Electors were William Henry of Rockingham, Henry G. Root of Bennington, Joseph Warner of Middlebury, Edward A. Cahoon of Lyndon and DeWitt C. Clarke of Shelburne.

The news of Lincoln's election was received with demonstrations of joy in Vermont. At Burlington there were speeches and songs, bells were rung, one hundred guns were fired and there was a bonfire in the village square. At two o'clock in the morning the crowd marched to the residence of Hon. George P. Marsh, called him out, and he delivered a short speech.

Vermont had followed a consistent course in opposition to slavery. Her public men had been leaders in Congress in opposing the system. Her Legislatures in statutes enacted and resolutions adopted, had gone to the limit of legislative action in defying and decrying laws strengthening the slave power. Although this State was not on the direct route of "the Underground Railroad," by which slaves fled into Canada, some Negroes found a road to freedom through Vermont. And now having aided in electing a President opposed to the further extension of slavery, Vermont, standing at the threshold of the year 1861, awaited the results of the threats of those who avowed a determination to disrupt the American Union rather than submit to a Free State Government.

Chapter XXXIV

THE CIVIL WAR

TO the student of American history who surveys the great events which occurred during the passing of the fifth and the opening of the sixth decade of the Nineteenth century, the secession of eleven Southern States from the American Union, and the terrible Civil War which followed, seem the natural culmination of nearly half a century of disagreement between the North and South over slavery. But the men and women of 1860 had become accustomed to this controversy in Congress, in the press, on the platform and in the pulpit. Threats of dissolving the Union had been made so often that they were discounted by the people of the North. The citizens of Vermont, notwithstanding the ominous signs of the times, could not believe that the breaking point actually had been reached.

On December 24, 1860, the *Burlington Free Press* inquired, "Is the South in earnest, or is it only playing over again, on a large scale, its game of brag and bluster?" Four days later the same newspaper, referring to criticism of Vermont's "Personal Liberty" laws, said: "Now is it supposed that the whole of Christendom are to reverse their opinions upon this subject (slavery) because the people of the South with a squad of self opinionated politicians at the North threaten to tear the world down if they don't? Is it to be supposed that thirty millions of people are to be driven to civil war, and forced to endorse such foolish demands? Have we not as good a right to be opposed to slavery as they to be in favor of it? And if there is any conflict in legislation upon this subject is (are) the ordinary means of determining the question to be set a

defiance—and they permitted to settle all these questions their own way, or this Temple of Liberty to be torn down upon our heads?"

In one of Congressman Walton's Washington letters to the *Montpelier Watchman,* dated December 13, 1860, he said: "The condition of the Government is shockingly bad. Indeed, it is hardly proper to say that we have any government at all. * * * The executive part of it is palsied. * * * Rumor declares that the President has sent a confidential messenger to beg South Carolina not to rebel until after the fourth of March."

Various attempts were made in Congress to deal with the menacing situation. In the Committee on the State of the Union, Mr. Rust of Arkansas offered a resolution declaring that the existing discontent among the Southern people and the growing hostility to the Federal Government was not without cause, and that such concessions and additional, more specific and effectual guaranties of their peculiar rights and interests as recognized by the Constitution should be made as would or should allay them, such action being indispensable to the perpetuation of the Union. Mr. Morrill of Vermont offered this amendment: "Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee, the existing discontent among the Southern people and the growing hostility to the Federal Government, are greatly to be regretted, and that any reasonable, proper and constitutional remedy necessary to preserve the peace of the country, and the perpetuity of the Union, should be promptly and cheerfully granted." Mr. Morrill's amendment was rejected

by a vote of 96 to 22, and the Rust amendment, modified somewhat, was adopted, Mr. Morrill voting against it.

As the Southern States began to secede, Mr. Morrill in a speech in the House, made an earnest plea against disunion, saying: "Let me appeal to all parties to try and live under that Union a little longer. * * * Give us another span of seventy years and prolong the hopes of mankind in the possibility of man's power of self-government."

President Buchanan appointed January 4, 1861, as a day of fasting and prayer on account of the distracted and dangerous condition of the country. Governor Fairbanks also issued a proclamation, recommending supplications for divine guidance that should "enable our rulers to preserve inviolate the National Constitution and laws." "Let us," said the Governor, "invoke the divine interposition for delivering our country from judicial blindness; for removing the elements of discord existing between different sections of the United States; and for perpetuating the Union and prosperity of our hitherto happy Republic."

Events moved rapidly in the South during the early part of 1861. Reinforcements for Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor were fired upon. Government forts and property in the South were seized. Ordinances of secession were passed by Southern States. One of the first public men to utter a note of protest against these acts of rebellion was Hon. David A. Smalley, Judge of the United States Court for the District of Vermont, who was sitting temporarily on the bench of the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of New

York. In charging the grand jury he declared in plain terms that civil war existed in portions of this country. The seizure of post-offices, custom houses and forts, and firing upon the United States flag, were acts of high treason. The fact that the acts were committed under pretended authority of a Legislature or convention, did not change or affect their criminal character. No man, no body of men, could throw off allegiance to the Government in that way. The passage of unconstitutional acts afforded no justification for rebellion and civil war.

Virginia took the initiative in calling a convention later known as the Peace Conference, which met at Washington, February 4, 1861, with the purpose of arriving at some compromise by means of constitutional amendments, or otherwise, whereby the Union might be preserved. Delegates were present from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. Among the delegates who were, or were to become, famous, may be mentioned the names of Ex-President John Tyler of Virginia, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, John M. Palmer of Illinois, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Salmon P. Chase and Thomas Ewing of Ohio, James Harlan of Iowa, George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, William P. Fessenden and Lot M. Morrill of Maine, Caleb Smith of Indiana, William E. Dodge, David Dudley Field, James S. Wadsworth, Erastus Corning and Gen. John E. Wool of New York. The members of the Vermont Congressional delegation

were appointed as delegates but declined to serve. Governor Fairbanks then named as delegates from Vermont, Ex-Gov. Hiland Hall of Bennington, Lucius E. Chittenden and Levi Underwood of Burlington, H. Henry Baxter of Rutland and B. D. Harris of Brattleboro.

This gathering found little favor in Vermont. Influential newspapers opposed it. The conference held its session behind closed doors, and had it not been for the notes taken by Mr. Chittenden of the Vermont delegation the proceedings never would have been reported accurately. Later he published a volume, giving a full report of the transactions which has been accepted as the official report of the body. Ex-Governor Hall proposed an amendment forever prohibiting the slave trade in the District of Columbia, which was adopted by a vote of 11 to 10.

On February 21 Mr. Chittenden addressed the conference, saying that the Vermont delegates throughout the session had labored under great embarrassment. The Legislature was not in session to instruct them when they were appointed and the time after their appointment was too short to permit them to consult the people of their State. The rules of the conference made it impossible for them to secure information by correspondence. In very plain terms he stated conditions as he saw them. Northern delegates had been asked to vote for proposals that were unpleasant, not to say offensive, to them, and to use their influence to persuade Congress to submit these proposals to the people. He desired to know if the South would abide by the result if the North agreed to these amendments. Otherwise time was being

wasted. The hostility of the North to slavery, must be recognized. It could not be legislated out of existence. "Speaking for one State," said Mr. Chittenden, "we frankly tell you that she will not enter upon a compromise which is not fair and mutual, which does not bind both parties."

The work of the Peace Conference came to naught. It was an honest, although a belated, attempt to check forces entirely beyond the control of its members.

On the same day that the members of the Peace Conference assembled at Washington, eight of the Vermont delegates to the Republican National Convention of 1860 met at Montpelier to discuss "the present state of the country." They were of the opinion that it was the sentiment of the people of the State that no compromise should be made which should recognize slavery as a national institution, or allow its extension into any Territory of the United States. Some of the compromises proposed would be an abandonment of the Republican platform and would destroy the party. The remedy for the present evil was not concession or compromise, but an energetic enforcement of the law. It was decided that the members of the Congressional delegation should be notified of the sentiment of Vermont.

Senator Collamer, on January 23, 1861, introduced a bill authorizing the President to close the ports of the seceding States and to suspend the mail service of the United States in those Commonwealths. On February 16, Congressman Walton, in a speech in the House, boldly declared: "Herein is our duty—To preserve the Government, not to pamper rebellion against it; to pre-

serve its dignity and authority, not to bring them into contempt; to maintain the Constitution unimpaired, not to disfigure it with hasty patchwork; to save, if it be possible, the peace of the country, not to plunge it into war; * * * and to preserve (God willing) the Union of the States from dissolution and disgrace, not to trifle with it as it has been trifled with by timid counsels and official treachery." Mr. Morrill, speaking two days later against compromise, quoted from a letter received from one of his constituents, who said: "Let but a single gun be fired in the capital and there would not be men enough left at home in the North to milk the cows."

With war threatening, Vermont was poorly equipped for active service. Nominally there were twenty-two companies of militia organized as a brigade, consisting of four regiments, commanded by Brig. Gen. Alonzo Jackman of Norwich Military Academy. Only five companies were uniformed and equipped. The State had arms for only a single regiment. On January 21, Governor Fairbanks directed Adjt. Gen. H. H. Baxter to call upon the Town Clerks to make returns of the enlisted militia, "in view of the importance of holding the military arm of the State in readiness to respond to any requisition of the President of the United States for aid in suppressing rebellion and executing the laws of the General Government." This was followed by orders to company officers to endeavor to fill all vacancies in the ranks.

Senator Foot of Vermont was chairman of the committee of arrangements, and planned and supervised the

exercises attending the inauguration of President Lincoln. A Vermont delegation of some fifty or sixty men, each wearing an evergreen sprig, was given the place of honor in the inaugural procession, following the carriage in which the outgoing and incoming Presidents rode. On March 5 the visiting Vermonters called on President Lincoln at the White House. Secretary of State Seward was present at the interview. On the following day calls were made on Vice President Hamlin, Secretaries Black and Dix, loyal members of the Buchanan Cabinet, Senator Andrew Johnson and General Scott. The venerable General spoke in complimentary terms of the Green Mountain State, and in closing said: "God bless Vermont, her hills, her valleys and her sons." On some of these calls Mr. Morrill acted as spokesman, alternating with Mr. Walton.

A special session of the Senate was called, following the inauguration. Senator Foot was elected President Pro Tem. He had often been called to the chair by Vice President Breckinridge and was a skilful and dignified presiding officer. Senator Collamer was made chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, was given second place on Foreign Relations, and was assigned to the Library Committee. Senator Foot was made chairman of the Public Buildings Committee and a member of Naval Affairs.

Among the early appointments made by President Lincoln was that of George P. Marsh as the first United States Minister to Italy (or Sardinia). This was considered one of the most desirable diplomatic appointments. Other candidates for the post included Carl

Schurz and Anson P. Burlingame. L. E. Chittenden of Burlington was made Register of the Treasury and John A. Kasson of Iowa, a native of Vermont, became First Assistant Postmaster General. The *New York Times* said of Mr. Marsh's appointment, that he was "one of the most skilful and successful diplomatists this country has ever sent abroad." The *New York World* remarked that "Mr. Lincoln has chosen exactly the best man for the place the country over," and added that, "He has long been known as a master in letters on both continents, but in Europe also as one of our few able and experienced diplomatists."

If Vermont had been slow to believe that actual warfare was a possibility, the attack upon Fort Sumter, on April 12, 1861, dispelled all doubts and aroused the militant patriotism of the people of the State. The news that Fort Sumter had surrendered and that President Lincoln had called for seventy-five thousand volunteers was received on April 14. On April 15, Governor Fairbanks issued a proclamation, calling a special session of the Legislature for April 23, which declared that "an armed rebellion against the Government of the United States exists, the object of which is to subvert and revolutionize the Government: And, whereas, the President of the United States through the Secretary of War, has made a requisition upon me for a regiment of men for immediate service. * * * I have responded by issuing the proper order to the Adjutant and Inspector General." The call was issued "for the purpose of adopting measures for organizing, arming and equipping the militia of the State, and for cooperating effectually

with the General Government in suppressing insurrection and executing the law."

The response of Vermont was what might have been expected. In almost every town and village public meetings were held and flags were raised. Steps were immediately taken for recruiting soldiers. The *Montpelier Watchman* said: "From every quarter of the State we hear one opinion, the Government must be sustained. Men are enlisting, women are working, and those who are too old to go are ready to supply the young." Students of the University of Vermont and Middlebury College formed military companies and began drilling. The railroad and steamboat companies offered to transport troops and munitions of war free of charge. Each of the two Montpelier banks offered to loan twenty-five thousand dollars for the equipment of troops. The Banks of St. Albans and Burlington offered ten per cent of the capital of each institution for the same purpose. Wealthy citizens pledged large amounts from their private fortunes. Towns voted generous sums for caring for the families of soldiers. From far away California, Trenor W. Park sent his check for one thousand dollars toward defraying the expenses of fitting out the Vermont troops.

When the war broke out, Frederick Billings, then a citizen of California, was in London. With Henry Stevens, also a native of Vermont, and Col. John C. Fremont, he spent much time at the American legation, and helped to educate the British public regarding the real condition of American affairs.

When the members of the Legislature arrived on April 23, for the special session, they were greeted with a salute of thirty-four guns from the old Revolutionary field pieces captured at Bennington.

In his message to the General Assembly Governor Fairbanks said: "We are convened to-day in view of events of an extraordinary and very alarming character. The element of disunion which, in a portion of the United States, for many years vented itself in threats and menaces had culminated in open rebellion, and an unnatural and causeless civil war has been precipitated against the General Government. * * * From every part of the country, in all the loyal States, there is one united voice for sustaining the Union, the Constitution and the integrity of the United States Government. All partisan differences are ignored and lost in the higher principle of patriotism. In this patriotic enthusiasm, Vermont eminently participates. Her citizens, always loyal to the Union, will in this hour of peril, nobly rally for the protection of the Government and the Constitution." He then asked for a more efficient organization of the military forces of the State, and for appropriations for military purposes, adding: "The Federal capital is menaced by an imposing and well armed military force, and the Government itself and the national archives are in imminent peril. * * * We shall discredit our past history should we in this crisis, suffer Vermont to be behind her sister States in her patriotic sacrifices for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution. * * * The United States Government must be sustained and the rebellion suppressed, at

whatever cost of men and treasure; and it remains to be seen whether the vigorous preparations that are being made and immense military force called into service by the President, are not the most probable and certain measures for a speedy and successful solution of the question."

Within twenty-four hours after the Legislature convened, that body had appropriated one million dollars for "more perfectly organizing, arming and equipping, drilling and providing for the militia of this State, and for such other purposes as may be provided by law." In commenting on this action the *New York World* declared that "many have done nobly; but none, resources considered, have equalled this." The Governor was authorized to raise six regiments, far in excess of the quota needed for President Lincoln's call. No volunteers less than twenty-one years of age were to be received without the written consent of parent or guardian. Recruits must be physically fit for actual service and at least five feet four and one-half inches in height. The Governor was to appoint regimental officers, the Colonels were to name staff officers and the companies were to elect their own officers, who were to receive the pay of regular army officers. The sum of seven dollars per month was to be added to the United States pay for non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates. The Governor was also authorized to appoint agents to inquire into the condition of the families of soldiers and to draw orders on the State Treasurer for the support of such families, if necessary. This is said to have been

the first provision made by any State to avoid treating needy families of soldiers as paupers.

The session adjourned on April 27. It is said that at the close of the first day's session a member proposed that the "Star Spangled Banner" should be sung, but no person in the hall could start the tune. In the evening a choir of twenty-five singers in the gallery, each carrying a flag, sang the national anthem, members and spectators joining with enthusiasm.

Concerning the appropriation of one million dollars the *Montpelier Watchman* said: "In all human probability this sum will never be required; and, of course, no more will be raised and used than shall be necessary."

The First Regiment of Vermont Volunteers, enlisted for three months, was formed from the Bradford, Brandon, Burlington, Cavendish, Middlebury, Northfield, Rutland, St. Albans, Swanton and Woodstock companies. It was generally conceded that an experienced officer should be chosen as Colonel of the regiment, and the choice fell on Capt. John W. Phelps of Brattleboro, a graduate of the United States Military Academy in the class of 1836, and for twenty-three years an officer in the regular army. He was promoted for gallant and meritorious conduct during the Mexican War, in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco and was one of a commission of three appointed to prepare a manual of arms for the artillery. Capt. Peter T. Washburn of Woodstock, a prominent lawyer and later Adjutant General of the State, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel. It was said that he had made the Woodstock Light Infantry the best military company in the State. Harry Wor-

then, a young Bradford lawyer, trained at Norwich University, and an efficient drill master, was made Major of the regiment.

The companies were escorted to their respective railroad stations by processions of citizens and there were patriotic demonstrations all along the route to Rutland, where the companies were ordered to rendezvous on the second day of May. "Camp Fairbanks," designated in honor of the Governor, and located on the fair ground south of the village, was chosen as the site for the soldiers' encampment. The mustering officer selected by the War Department was Lieut. Col. G. J. Rains, a regular army officer and a native of North Carolina. He was suspected of Southern sympathies and three months later entered the service of the Confederate Army. A delay of more than a week ensued, Rains remaining at Burlington, where it had originally been intended to muster the regiment, until he was ordered to Rutland. The oath of allegiance was administered by United States Judge D. A. Smalley, and the colors were presented by Governor Fairbanks.

General Scott had known Colonel Phelps in Mexico, and, although the Adjutant General was of the opinion that enough men had been ordered to Washington for present needs, when the venerable General learned that a regiment of Vermonters was available he ordered that they should be sent to Fortress Monroe, Va. The regiment left Rutland on May 9 in a train of twenty cars. The citizens of Troy, N. Y., greeted the Vermont soldiers, Gen. John E. Wool being one of the speakers. On the morning of May 10, the regiment arrived at New

York and marched down Fifth Avenue and Broadway, through streets thronged with cheering people. The soldiers wore gray uniforms and in the cap of every man was an evergreen sprig, the emblem worn in previous wars by soldiers from the Green Mountain State. Vermonters residing in New York were diligent in ministering to the needs of the visitors. The New York newspapers spoke in terms of the highest praise of these men, being impressed by their stalwart proportions. The *Sun* said: "More formidable troops fought not with Allen, or Stark, or Cromwell."

The commandant of Fortress Monroe at this time was Lieut. Col. Justin Dimick, an artillery officer and a native of Vermont. In a few weeks Gen. B. F. Butler arrived and assumed command. The first death of a Vermont soldier was that of Benjamin Underwood of Bradford, a private who died of illness, May 20.

On May 23, Colonel Phelps made a reconnaissance to the village of Hampton, and a platoon from a Swanton company under Captain Clark prevented the burning of a bridge over the Hampton River. On May 27, the regiment was ordered to Newport News, at the mouth of the James River, ten miles from Fortress Monroe, where it was stationed during the remainder of its stay in Virginia. The Fourth Massachusetts and the Seventh New York regiments followed and a strong, entrenched camp was laid out, known as Camp Butler, Colonel Phelps being placed in command. Thereafter Lieutenant Colonel Washburn commanded the regiment. Many colored men came into the Union lines and were designated by General Butler as contraband of war.

Lieut. Roswell Farnham of the Bradford company was Provost Marshal of the post and it was his task to have charge of these Negroes.

The first engagement of the war properly designated as a battle was the affair at Big Bethel, which did not add to the glory of the Union arms. Lieutenant Colonel Washburn with five companies of the First Vermont and five companies of the Fourth Massachusetts made what was called the final and only formidable assault on the enemy's ranks. A retreat having been ordered, Washburn's force retired, having inflicted upon the Confederates the only losses suffered by them during the battle. The term of service of the regiment expired on August 2, and its members returned to Vermont, arriving at Brattleboro on August 7. On August 8 the men were received by Governor Fairbanks and on August 15 and 16 they were mustered out of service. Five-sixths of the members of this regiment subsequently enlisted for three years, one hundred and sixty-one of the members became field and line officers of Vermont regiments, and others were assigned to service with the troops of neighboring States, making a total of two hundred and fifty members of the First Vermont Regiment, who held commissions during the war.

The Second Vermont was the first of the "three-years'" regiments enlisted in this State. The men who composed it were selected with care by Adjutant General Baxter from approximately sixty companies which had offered their services in May, 1861. Benedict, in his "Vermont in the Civil War," said that this regiment during its period of service, lost 40 per cent of its men

Scenes Illustrating the St. Albans Raid of 1864

in killed and wounded, and that its ratio of killed and mortally wounded was eight times the general ratio of the Union Army.

The ten companies of the regiment were recruited in the towns of Bennington, Brattleboro, Burlington, Castleton, Fletcher, Ludlow, Montpelier, Tunbridge, Vergennes and Waterbury, representing nine of the fourteen counties of the State. The command was offered to Col. Israel B. Richardson of Mexican War fame, but he had recently accepted a similar position with the First Michigan regiment. He recommended a West Point classmate, Lieut. Henry Whiting of St. Clair, Mich., who was appointed Colonel of the regiment by Governor Fairbanks. George J. Stannard, active in the reorganization of the militia and one of the officers of the famous Ransom Guards of St. Albans, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel. Charles H. Joyce, a Northfield lawyer, was named as Major. Perley P. Pitkin of Montpelier, Quartermaster of the regiment, later became a Colonel in the Quartermaster's Department and was placed in charge of the principal base of supplies of the Army of the Potomac. Bennington furnished a band of twenty-four pieces. The uniforms were made in Vermont of cloth manufactured in the State.

The men assembled at Camp Underwood, in Burlington, named in honor of the Lieutenant Governor, Hon. Levi Underwood, and on June 12 Judge Smalley administered the oath of allegiance. Thousands of persons visited the camp during the regiment's two weeks' stay in the State. This regiment numbered eight hundred and sixty-eight officers and men. Twenty-four cars

drawn by two locomotives transported the Second Vermont to Troy, N. Y., where the Sons of Vermont extended a hearty welcome and General Wool reviewed the regiment. On the following morning the regiment arrived in New York City, where the Sons of Vermont gave the men an enthusiastic welcome. A beautiful regimental standard was presented by E. D. Culver of Brooklyn and speeches were made by Senator Solomon Foot and Ex-Gov. Hiland Hall. As the regiment marched in the afternoon from the Park barracks to the Jersey City ferry, the streets were lined with cheering citizens and flowers were given to the soldiers.

Although the regiment passed through Philadelphia at night, citizens were in waiting with refreshments. The regiment marched through Baltimore with loaded muskets and arrived at Washington on the morning of June 26, where it went into camp on Capitol Hill. One of the regiments in the same camp, the Eighth Minnesota, had in its ranks one hundred and seventy native Vermonters, or one-sixth of its entire strength. This fact serves as an illustration of the large Vermont emigration to the States of the Central West.

The Second Vermont was a part of General McDowell's army which marched into Virginia on July 16, 1861, being brigaded with three Maine regiments under the command of Col. O. O. Howard. The battle of Bull Run was the first engagement in which the Vermonters took part, and Howard's brigade was not called into action until the battle was lost, and then employed only to protect the retreat of the Union troops. Corporal R. H. Benjamin of Brattleboro, killed by shell fire, is said to

have been the first Vermonter killed in battle. A fragment of the same shell took off the right arm of Sergt. U. A. Woodbury, who was afterward Governor of Vermont. The losses of the regiment in this battle were two enlisted men killed, one officer and thirty-four men wounded and one officer and thirty men captured by the enemy. Twenty-one of the men who were made prisoners were wounded and three of them died in Richmond. The regimental colors, torn by shot and shell, were brought away in safety.

The companies of the Third Regiment were recruited in the towns of Calais, Charleston, Coventry, East Montpelier, Guildhall, Hartford, Johnson, Newbury, St. Albans, St. Johnsbury and Springfield. The headquarters of the regiment were at Camp Baxter, on the fair grounds at St. Johnsbury. During a stay of several weeks in this camp, an epidemic of measles prostrated about one-third of the regiment. Governor Fairbanks hoped to secure as regimental commander, Col. J. W. Phelps of the First Regiment of three months' men, but he could not be spared from his duties as commandant of the post at Newport News. He was soon after made a Brigadier General. An unsuccessful attempt was made to secure Capt. Truman Seymour, a native of Vermont, an artillery officer who had served in the Mexican War and had been one of the gallant defenders of Fort Sumter at the outbreak of the Civil War. Meanwhile other officers were selected, including B. N. Hyde of Hyde Park, Lieutenant Colonel, who had been educated at West Point; W. W. Cochran of Bellows Falls, Major; and Redfield Proctor of Cavendish, Quar-

termaster. The regiment, numbering eight hundred and eighty-two officers and men, was mustered into service on July 16, by Lieutenant Colonel Rains, and left July 24, on a train of twenty-two cars. Great crowds witnessed the departure of the regiment. Refreshments were furnished at Bellows Falls and at Brattleboro. At Springfield, Mass., a substantial dinner was served and a throng of five thousand or six thousand persons cheered the regiment as it left.

At Hartford, Conn., the Sons of Vermont presented a beautiful flag of white silk, bearing the arms of Vermont and the city of Hartford. At Philadelphia, the Union Defence Committee provided a supper. The regiment arrived at Washington on July 26, and on the following day was ordered to Camp Lyon, on Georgetown Heights. Here the regiment was joined by its new Colonel, Capt. William F. Smith. He was a native of Vermont, a relative of the Smith family of St. Albans, a graduate of the United States Military Academy in the class of 1845, and subsequently an assistant professor of mathematics in that institution. He had superintended lighthouse and harbor improvements at Chicago, where he formed the acquaintance of George B. McClellan. As the result of special intervention by General Scott, Captain Smith's release from his regular army duties was secured. Later in the war he became a Major General.

The location of the Vermont regiment was at the "Chain Bridge," across the Potomac from, and a few miles above, Washington. This post guarded the water supply of the national capital. The Second Vermont was sent to this station soon after the arrival of the

Third Vermont. Col. W. F. Smith was given the command of the post. During the first few weeks of service several changes took place in the list of officers. Major Cochran resigned on account of illness and was succeeded by Capt. Wheelock G. Veazey. On August 13, Colonel Smith was made Brigadier General and Lieutenant Colonel Hyde was made Colonel of the regiment. Major Veazey was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and Capt. Thomas O. Seaver became Major. On August 22 the troops at this post were reviewed by President Lincoln, General McClellan and Secretaries Seward and Chase.

For several weeks during the early fall the Third Vermont was occupied in throwing up fortifications for the defence of Washington. During this period William Scott, a private in Company K, Third Vermont, was found asleep on picket duty, was tried by court martial, and was sentenced to be shot. It developed that Scott, who was only twenty-two years old, had been on picket duty two nights in succession, having voluntarily taken the place of a sick comrade. The matter having come to the attention of President Lincoln, on the evening of September 7, and the execution being fixed for the following morning, the President granted a respite and telegraphed an order for a stay of execution. As no response to the message was received Mr. Lincoln feared it might have failed to reach its destination, and shortly before midnight he ordered his carriage and drove nearly ten miles to brigade headquarters to deliver the order in person. On the morning of September 8 the brigade was drawn up in a hollow square, a shoot-

ing party was detailed and the prisoner was brought out to be shot. At this point an order from General McClellan was read, pardoning the condemned man at the request of the President. Scott returned to the ranks as a faithful soldier, and a few months later was killed while charging the enemy's rifle pits at Lee's Mill. This is one of many instances of the kindness and sympathy which have made the name of Abraham Lincoln the best beloved of any in American history.

The first experience of the Third Vermont under fire was in a reconnoissance beyond Lewinsville, Va., in which it was engaged in a skirmish with a Confederate detachment under Col. J. E. B. Stuart, later a famous cavalry leader.

Following the battle of Bull Run, Governor Fairbanks, on July 30, issued a proclamation calling for the enlistment of two regiments for a period of three years. By the end of August the two regiments had been recruited and most of the companies had been organized. Lieut. Edwin H. Stoughton, U. S. A., of Bellows Falls, a graduate of the United States Military Academy in the class of 1859, was appointed Colonel. He was only twenty-three years old and was said to be the youngest Colonel of the Army at the time of his appointment. Maj. Harry N. Worthen of Bradford, of the First Vermont, was chosen Lieutenant Colonel, and John C. Tyler of Brattleboro was appointed Major. Camp Holbrook, at Brattleboro, named in honor of the new Governor, was the rendezvous of the regiment. Most of the men of the regiment were residents of towns in the southern part of the State. Regiments previously

recruited in Vermont had been clothed in gray, but the Fourth wore the army blue. This regiment contained one thousand, forty-two officers and men and was mustered into service on September 21. It left Brattleboro on the evening of September 21 and arrived at Washington forty-eight hours later.

The Fifth regiment was composed of companies recruited in the towns of Brandon, Burlington, Cornwall, Hyde Park, Manchester, Middlebury, Richmond, Rutland, St. Albans and Swanton. Headquarters were established at St. Albans, and like the rendezvous at Brattleboro, the name given was Camp Holbrook. The regiment was mustered into service on September 16 and 17, with one thousand and six officers and men. Lieut. Henry A. Smalley of the Second U. S. Artillery, a son of Judge David A. Smalley, was selected as Colonel of the regiment. He was a West Point graduate, in the class of 1854, and had served on the staff of General Dix. The Lieutenant Colonel was Capt. Nathan Lord, Jr., youngest son of President Lord of Dartmouth College. Very soon thereafter he was given command of a regiment and was succeeded by Lewis A. Grant of Rockingham, Major of the regiment. Redfield Proctor, Quartermaster of the Third Vermont, was appointed Major. The regiment left St. Albans on two trains, on September 23, arriving at Washington on September 25, and a few days later was sent to the Chain Bridge, where other Vermont regiments were stationed.

The same day on which the Fifth regiment was inducted into service, the War Department asked Governor Fairbanks to raise another regiment as soon as

possible. In twelve days nine hundred men had been recruited, and within a few days the remainder of the regiment arrived at "Camp Smith," at Montpelier, the place of rendezvous. Lieut. Col. Nathan Lord, Jr., of the Fifth regiment was selected as Colonel, Adjutant Asa P. Blunt of the Third Vermont, as Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. Oscar S. Tuttle of Cavendish, of the First regiment, as Major. The regiment was mustered into service on October 15, and four days later nine hundred and seventy-one men left for the front. The entire population of Montpelier turned out to bid the soldiers farewell. All along the Connecticut valley there were patriotic demonstrations as the train passed carrying the Sixth Vermont. On arriving at Washington the regiment was brigaded with other Vermont troops.

The First Vermont Brigade was organized in the fall of 1861 at the suggestion of Gen. William F. Smith. It was composed of the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Vermont regiments stationed at Camp Griffin, near the Chain Bridge, just above Washington. For its commander, Capt. and Brevet Maj. W. T. H. Brooks, an Ohio man, the son of a Vermonter, who graduated at West Point in 1841, and had seen service in the Mexican War, was chosen. During the late fall this brigade suffered seriously from illness, the prevailing diseases being diarrhoea, fevers and pneumonia. No other brigade in the Army of the Potomac suffered as severely as did the Vermonters, about one-fourth being unfit for duty.

In the summer of 1861, Lemuel B. Platt of Colchester proposed to Governor Fairbanks that a regiment of

cavalry should be raised, but the Governor was not authorized to recruit such a force, and declined to consider the proposal. Mr. Platt then appealed to Senator Foot, who accompanied him to the office of Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War. Secretary Cameron had heard good reports of Vermont soldiers and was familiar with the good points of Vermont horses, therefore, he did not hesitate to commission Mr. Platt as Colonel with authority to raise and equip a regiment of cavalry. In six weeks Colonel Platt had recruited the regiment, secured the necessary horses, and uniformed the troops. The soldiers came from the following counties: Company A, Chittenden county; Company B, Franklin county; Company C, Washington county; Company D, Orange and Caledonia counties; Company E, Windsor county; Company F, Windham county; Company G, Bennington county; Company H, Rutland county; Company I, Lamoille and Orleans counties; Company K, Addison county. The place of rendezvous was the fair grounds at Burlington, designated as "Camp Ethan Allen," and on November 19, nine hundred and sixty-six officers and men were mustered into service. Before the end of the war 2,297 officers and men had served in this regiment. The Lieutenant Colonel chosen was George B. Kellogg, a Brattleboro lawyer, and a son of Daniel Kellogg. The senior Major was William D. Collins of Bennington, who had served in a battery of British artillery. The junior Major was John D. Bartlett of Montpelier. Rev. John H. Woodward of Westford left his seat in the Vermont Senate to become Chaplain of the regiment.

Five trains were necessary to transport the First Vermont Cavalry from Burlington to Washington. The regiment broke camp on December 14, marching down Broadway, New York, in the presence of thousands of spectators. This regiment was said to be "the best cavalry mount that had been seen at the capital." On Christmas day the regiment started for Annapolis, Md., and on its arrival Colonel Platt resigned. He was not a man of military training and frankly declared that he did not consider himself qualified to drill and command it. General Stoneman designated Capt. Jonas P. Holliday of the Second U. S. Cavalry, as Colonel. He was a New York man, a graduate of the United States Military Academy in the class of 1850, and an experienced officer.

State bonds to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars were floated in June, 1861, the Vermont sales amounting to one hundred and forty thousand dollars. More than thirty thousand dollars worth were taken in Montpelier, and the Bank of Rutland purchased these bonds to the amount of twenty thousand dollars.

A call for a mass convention to be held on June 26, was issued by the Republican State Committee to "all who are in favor of supporting the Constitution and the Union, and of sustaining the Federal Government in its efforts to suppress rebellion and put down treason." When the convention assembled there were some objections to the breadth of the call issued, and a resolution was offered declaring in substance that this was a convention of the Republican party, called for the purpose of making Republican nominations. George F. Edmunds

of Burlington offered a substitute, which was adopted, which declared that "the freemen of the State of Vermont, in convention assembled, without surrendering or abandoning our previous political principles or opinions, do

"Resolve, That in this turning point in the Nation's destiny it is the imperative duty of every citizen without restrictions of party or creed, to uphold the permanent authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States against all opposers and in every part of the country.

"That we pledge the present Administration the whole power and resources of this State to aid in putting down rebellion by force of arms, and in bringing its wicked leaders to justice.

"That we earnestly protest against compromise with treason in any form." * * *

Frederick Holbrook of Brattleboro was nominated for Governor. An attempt was made, without success, to nominate Paul Dillingham of Waterbury for Lieutenant Governor as a Democrat, and Levi Underwood of Burlington was chosen for second place on the ticket.

The Democratic State Committee called a Union convention at which an attempt was made to endorse the nomination of Frederick Holbrook for Governor, but it was defeated. Paul Dillingham was nominated for Governor, and Stephen Thomas for Lieutenant Governor, but both declined to accept. The convention adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That as loyal citizens we will sustain all Constitutional acts of the

present National Government to maintain the Constitution and laws in all the States."

A Union Peoples' Convention, held at Montpelier on August 21, nominated for Governor, Andrew Tracy, formerly a Whig, endorsed the Republican candidate, Levi Underwood, for Lieutenant Governor, and named J. T. Thurston, a Montpelier Democrat, for Treasurer. Although Mr. Tracy declined the nomination, votes were cast for him. Mr. Holbrook was elected by a large majority, receiving 33,152 votes. For Andrew Tracy, 5,722 votes were cast. B. H. Smalley, a St. Albans Democrat, received 3,190 votes and 732 scattering votes were added to the total.

Frederick Holbrook was born at East Windsor, Conn., February 15, 1814, his father being a prosperous business man. He attended the Berkshire Gymnasium at Pittsfield, Mass., for two years, and in 1833 he visited Europe. After his return to this country he made his home in Brattleboro. He was interested in music and agriculture and was a frequent contributor to farm papers. He was one of the founders and the first president of the Vermont State Agricultural Association, being elected eight successive years. He was chosen Register of Probate for the district of Marlboro in 1847, and in 1849 and in 1850 he was elected a member of the State Senate from Windham county. As chairman of a special committee on Agriculture he proposed a memorial to Congress, urging the establishment of a national bureau of agriculture. He lived to the great age of ninety-six years, his death occurring April 27, 1909.

Owing to an attack of illness, Governor Holbrook was unable to take the oath of office as soon as the Legislature convened, and Governor Fairbanks held the office until his successor had qualified. Governor Holbrook's message was delivered on October 22. He called attention to evidences of industrial and agricultural prosperity, saying that ordinarily he would refer at some length to the promotion of agriculture, "the favorite pursuit of my life," but the condition of public affairs induced him to omit several topics of public interest. He said the people of the State comprehended the magnitude of the issues involved in the war; that they saw in the contest a struggle for national existence; and that "they are willing to expend their blood and treasure, if need be, to the fullest extent of their means to aid the National Government in crushing this causeless rebellion."

Augustus P. Hunton was reelected Speaker. The thanks of the General Assembly were tendered to Governor Fairbanks for his "most laborious, efficient and praiseworthy efforts in raising and equipping six regiments." The Governor was authorized to recruit a regiment of infantry for three years' service, also a regiment to be attached to Gen. B. F. Butler's division. Provision was made for a Roman Catholic clergyman with the rank of Chaplain, for service with the Vermont regiments.

State Senators were apportioned as follows: Addison, Bennington and Caledonia counties, two each; Chittenden, three; Essex, one; Franklin, three; Grand Isle and Lamoille, one each; Orange and Orleans, two each; Rutland and Washington, three each; Windham, two;

Windsor, three. In the event of the disability of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, the Speaker was empowered to act. It was voted to postpone the election of Representatives to Congress from September, 1862, to March, 1863. The following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That the Governor is hereby directed to inform the President of the United States that in responding to the call of the Government to furnish troops for its defence and for the suppression of the rebellion now menacing the integrity of the Republic, it is no part of the purpose of the State of Vermont to furnish, in the persons of her soldiers, a force to be employed in the arrest or return of fugitive slaves to their masters, and that to employ them for such a purpose would be highly offensive to the honor and dignity of the State." Thus did Vermont continue to make known the hostility of the State toward slavery.

The Seventh Vermont was organized for the specific purpose of forming a part of a division to be under the command of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. The companies were organized in Brandon, Burlington, Cavendish, Johnson, Middlebury, Northfield, Poultney, Rutland, Swanton and Woodstock. The camp rendezvous at Rutland was designated "Camp Phelps," in honor of Gen. John W. Phelps. The Colonel of the regiment was George T. Roberts of Rutland, an officer of the First Vermont who was recommended for the position by General Phelps. Capt. Volney S. Fullam of Ludlow, of the Second Vermont, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel. William C. Holbrook of Brattleboro, a son of Governor Holbrook, not yet twenty-one years of age, who had

seen a year's service as a Lieutenant in the Fourth regiment, was selected as Major. Not a few of the men had served in the First Vermont. This regiment was mustered into service on February 12, 1862, with one thousand, fourteen officers and men, and left Rutland on March 10. Entertainment was provided at New York for the officers and men, and on March 14 the regiment embarked on two transports, putting to sea with sealed orders. The destination proved to be Ship Island, off the coast of Louisiana, which remained in the possession of the United States Government. Gen. John W. Phelps had been in command for four months, and soon after his arrival he issued a proclamation declaring slavery to be incompatible with free institutions and free labor, and asserting that its overthrow was the end and aim of the Government. This declaration caused much friction between General Phelps and his superior officers and resulted ultimately in his resignation. Late in April, 1862, New Orleans was captured, General Phelps having commanded one of three brigades detailed to act in cooperation with Farragut's fleet. After the capture of the city he was placed in command of the forces at Carrollton, six miles up the river from New Orleans. Companies B and C and thirty men of Company D, of the Seventh Vermont, under command of Major Holbrook, were ordered to occupy Fort Pike, at the entrance to Lake Pontchartrain.

About the middle of June, eight companies of the Seventh Vermont, with the field and staff officers, as a part of General Williams' brigade, were sent up the river to aid in an attempt to take Vicksburg, Miss. This

expedition was not successful and the Vermont troops suffered severely from illness. Malaria, dysentery and other diseases prevailed and the supply of medicines was soon exhausted. Toward the end of July the attacking force returned to Baton Rouge, La. When the Seventh Vermont left for Vicksburg it had seven hundred men fit for duty. When it returned to the Louisiana capital, thirty-six days later, there were in the regiment fewer than one hundred effective men. On August 5, Gen. John C. Breckinridge of the Confederate army attempted to recapture Baton Rouge. The Seventh Vermont had only three hundred and eleven men fit for duty, but this force bore an active part in the engagement. The attack of the enemy was unsuccessful, but during the engagement Colonel Roberts was fatally wounded. He was the first Vermont field officer killed in battle.

One of the most unpleasant experiences sustained by a Vermont regiment during the war grew out of this minor engagement at Baton Rouge. A heavy fog made the operation of troops exceedingly difficult. Colonel Roberts of the Seventh Vermont hesitated to reply to the firing along his front, fearing that he might shoot some of the Union troops, but following explicit orders from General Williams, he opened fire. It soon developed that the Twenty-first Indiana was in range. The firing then ceased and almost immediately after that order had been given Colonel Roberts received a wound which caused his death. Lieutenant Colonel Fullam and Major Holbrook being absent at the time, engaged in other duties, Captain Porter moved the Seventh Vermont back, in accordance with orders from General Williams.

In general orders relating to the battle of Baton Rouge, General Butler asserted that the Seventh Vermont broke in confusion when not pressed by the enemy, refused to march to the aid of the Indiana troops, upon which the Vermonters had already fired by mistake, and asserted that a Massachusetts soldier had brought off the colors of the Seventh Vermont at the time of the regiment's retreat. He therefore ordered that the Vermont regiment should not be permitted to inscribe the name of the battle on its colors, and that "the colors of that regiment be not borne by them until such time as they shall have earned the right to them."

Major Holbrook, acting commander of the regiment, appealed to the Adjutant General for a court of inquiry, and the request was sustained by General Phelps, who declared that it was "much to be regretted that a regiment in this quarter should be compelled to defend itself against unmerited dishonor from its Commanding General as well as against the enemy and extraordinary exposure and disease." Governor Holbrook wrote Secretary Stanton that the charges against the Seventh Vermont were believed to be grossly unjust and that "nothing short of an entirely impartial court of inquiry to be appointed at and sent on from Washington, will satisfy our people." The Vermont Legislature also demanded that an investigation should be made. General Halleck having asserted that no officer could be spared from Washington for a court of inquiry, a board was then appointed satisfactory to General Butler, which exonerated the regiment from the charges of abandoning the colors, and disobeying orders, but asserted that it fled

about one hundred feet in a disorderly manner, and that about two-fifths of the men present for duty did not return to their positions in line of battle during the day. The Vermonters asserted that the regiment fell back only in compliance with orders; that it was absolutely untrue that a part of the regiment did not return to duty; that General Butler from the first had been prejudiced against the Vermont regiment because it did not desire to serve under him; and that the board of inquiry was not an impartial one. General Butler restored to the regiment its colors, and later, by order of General Sheridan, it was permitted to inscribe the name Baton Rouge upon its flag.

Lieutenant Colonel Fullam having resigned, Major Holbrook was promoted to the command of the regiment. Capt. David B. Peck became Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. Henry M. Porter was appointed Major. The troops having been withdrawn from Baton Rouge to Carrollton, where there was much illness, they were ordered to Pensacola, Fla., at which place the health of the regiment improved. During its first year in service the deaths in the Seventh Vermont exceeded three hundred.

The Eighth Vermont regiment was recruited in the counties of Caledonia, Essex, Franklin, Lamoille, Orange, Orleans, Washington and Windham. The companies assembled at "Camp Holbrook," in Brattleboro, early in January, 1862, and the regiment was mustered into service February 18, of that year. This regiment was raised with the understanding that it was to form a part of General Butler's New England Division.

In November, 1861, General Butler had visited Montpelier, while the Legislature was in session, and offered the position of Colonel of the regiment to Stephen Thomas of West Fairlee, a member of the House, and long prominent in State affairs. After much hesitation he accepted. He was at that time fifty-one years old, and was the first Vermont Colonel appointed directly from civil life to take active command of a regiment. Before leaving the State he was presented with a handsome sword. Edward M. Brown of Montpelier, Adjutant of the Fifth Vermont, was chosen Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. Charles Dillingham, son of Hon. Paul Dillingham, was appointed Major.

The usual patriotic demonstrations greeted the regiment as it travelled down the Connecticut valley. At New York the officers were tendered a dinner by the Sons of Vermont. On March 9, the regiment sailed from New York, and proceeded to Ship Island, La. Immediately following the occupation of New Orleans, General Butler sent for the Eighth Vermont, and it was assigned to police duty. Quartermaster Sergt. J. Elliot Smith was appointed military superintendent of telegraph lines. A little later the regiment was transferred to Algiers, a suburb of New Orleans. Late in May, the *New Orleans Delta*, having violated the regulations forbidding the publication of rebellious articles, General Butler took possession of the newspaper, and detailed Lieutenant Colonel Brown, a former editor of the *Montpelier Patriot*, to take editorial charge. In July, four officers and one hundred and thirty-eight men of the Eighth Vermont were captured at Bayou des Allemands

by Gen. Richard Taylor of the Confederate army, a son of President Zachary Taylor. In September General Weitzel organized an expedition, sent out from New Orleans, designed to disperse General Taylor's forces, and to cut off Confederate supplies from Texas. Colonel Thomas with the Eighth Vermont formed a part of the expedition, and a body of colored troops also was under his command. In two weeks Colonel Thomas repaired eighty miles of railroad, and opened it for traffic. In December Lieutenant Colonel Brown resigned, and was succeeded by Major Dillingham. Capt. Luman M. Grout was appointed Major.

During the first twelve months of the war Vermont raised and sent to the front nine thousand men. The belief that no more soldiers were needed did not prove to be well founded and before the end of May Stonewall Jackson was threatening Washington. The War Department called on Vermont to forward at once all available volunteer and militia forces. As there were no troops to be sent, Governor Holbrook at once called for another regiment of volunteers. Lieut. Col. George J. Stannard of the Second Vermont was selected as Colonel of the Ninth regiment, and companies were organized in Bradford, Brattleboro, Burlington, Hyde Park, Irasburg, Middlebury, Perkinsville, Plainfield, Rutland and Swanton. The rendezvous was at Brattleboro, and the regiment was mustered into service on July 9, with nine hundred and twenty officers and men. Dudley K. Andross of Bradford, a Captain in the First Vermont, was chosen Lieutenant Colonel, and the Major was Edwin S. Stowell, a Captain in the Fifth Vermont.

Nearly one-third of the line officers had served in the First regiment. Regimental colors were presented by Governor Holbrook and camp was broken on July 15. On the following day the regiment reached New York and proceeded to Madison Square Garden. Refreshments were distributed from the Astor House and the Sons of Vermont gave a dinner to the officers at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. As the men left New York for Jersey City, Horace Greeley made a patriotic speech from the pilot house of the ferry boat. The *New York Herald* said: "The State of Vermont has the prestige of sending the first regiment under the new call of the President to the seat of war. The march down Broadway was characterized by the greatest enthusiasm and we could not help imagining that the early days of the Rebellion were upon us." The regiment marched through Baltimore with loaded muskets and proceeded to barracks near the Capitol, at Washington.

On July 19, the Ninth regiment was ordered across the Potomac into Virginia, being stationed for a few days at Cloud's Mill. One week later the regiment went into camp on the heights above Winchester, where several weeks were spent in constructing Fort Sigel. After the second battle of Bull Run, and General Pope's withdrawal within the defences of Washington, the position of the troops at Winchester became precarious. A scouting party from the Ninth Vermont learned that a Confederate force of twenty thousand men was only twenty miles away. As a result of this information, and in compliance with orders from General Halleck, the guns at Winchester were spiked, the stores that could

not be removed and the storehouses were burned, the magazine was exploded, and the troops made a forced march to Harper's Ferry. By a rapid movement General Lee, having crossed the Potomac into Maryland, cut off the Union troops at this place. Steadily the Confederate lines were drawn closer. Batteries were located at advantageous points, which commanded the Union position and subjected the troops to a murderous fire. Colonel Stannard directed his men to lie on their faces until their range was secured by the enemy. Then he would order them to a new position at double quick, and again they would throw themselves prone upon the ground. Nine batteries played upon the Union troops during two hours and at last Colonel Miles, in command, raised a white flag. Colonel Stannard declared most emphatically that he would not surrender, and the men of the Ninth regiment rushed down a ravine toward a pontoon bridge, hoping to cut their way out and reach McClellan's lines. They were intercepted, however, by Gen. A. P. Hill's command and surrendered. Being unable to transport the captured troops to Richmond, Gen. Stonewall Jackson paroled them and the Ninth Vermont was ordered into parole camp at Chicago.

Governor Holbrook was a trusted adviser of President Lincoln, and he suggested the raising of a force of five hundred thousand men. It is related that as soon as the President had read the Governor's letter he sent Provost Marshal-General Draper to confer with Governor Holbrook. A petition embodying his suggestions was drawn up and submitted to the loyal Governors for signature, after which it was formally presented. Mr.

Lincoln issued calls for volunteers for three years and troops to serve nine months.

On July 1, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand more volunteers. Governor Holbrook appealed to the people of Vermont in a proclamation in which he said: "Let no young man capable of bearing arms in defence of his country linger at this important period. Let the President feel the strengthening influence of our prompt and hearty response to his call. Let Vermont be one of the first States to respond with her quota." War meetings were held to stimulate recruiting and bounties were offered by individuals. Companies were raised at Bennington, Bradford, Burlington, Derby Line, Ludlow, Rutland, St. Albans, St. Johnsbury, Swanton and Waterbury. On August 15, 1862, the companies went into camp at Brattleboro, and on September 1 the regiment was mustered into service with one thousand, sixteen officers and men. A. B. Jewett of Swanton, a Lieutenant in the First Vermont, was chosen as Colonel, John H. Edson of Montpelier, as Lieutenant Colonel, and William W. Henry of Waterbury, as Major. The regiment broke camp on September 6 and on the evening of September 8 reached the national capital. Picket duty on the Maryland bank of the Potomac was the first task of the Tenth Vermont. In October, Lieutenant Colonel Edson resigned and Major Henry was named as his successor, Capt. C. G. Chandler being appointed Major. During November there were many cases of illness and twenty-five men died of typhoid fever in five weeks. During the winter

the regiment held the right of the outer line of the defences of Washington.

The Eleventh Vermont was recruited simultaneously with the Tenth and companies were formed at Alburg, Bellows Falls, Brattleboro, Fair Haven, Hyde Park, Irasburg, Royalton, St. Johnsbury, Shoreham and Worcester. A regular army officer was chosen for Colonel in the person of Lieut. James M. Warner, a native of Middlebury, and a graduate of West Point in the class of 1860. Reuben C. Benton, a young lawyer of Hyde Park, a Captain in the Fifth Vermont, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel, and George E. Chamberlin was chosen as Major. "Camp Bradley," at Brattleboro, was named in honor of the venerable William C. Bradley. The regiment was mustered into service, left Brattleboro on September 7, and on arriving at Washington was assigned to the northern defences of the city. In December the Eleventh Vermont was transformed into an artillery regiment.

A call was issued on August 13 for volunteers for nine months, and thirty companies were enlisted. The first ten of these companies were organized as the Twelfth Vermont, seven of them having been a part of the First regiment. Bradford, Brandon, Burlington, Northfield, Rutland, St. Albans, Saxton's River, Tunbridge, West Windsor and Woodstock contributed companies to form this regiment. Asa P. Blunt of St. Johnsbury, the Colonel, had seen service in the Third and the Sixth regiments. Roswell Farnham, a Bradford lawyer, had served as a Lieutenant in the First Vermont. Maj. Levi G. Kingsley of Rutland had also

served in the First regiment. The Twelfth Vermont was mustered into service at "Camp Lincoln," in Brattleboro, on October 4. Three days later it left for Washington.

The companies comprising the Thirteenth Vermont were recruited in Bakersfield, Burlington, Calais, Colchester, East Montpelier, Highgate, Montpelier, Moretown, Morristown and Richmond. Francis V. Randall, a Montpelier lawyer, who had served as a Captain in the Second Vermont, was appointed Colonel. The Lieutenant Colonel was Andrew C. Brown, of the editorial staff of the *Montpelier Watchman*. Lawrence D. Clark of Highgate, Major of the regiment, had been a Captain in the First Vermont and was over fifty years old. The Thirteenth Vermont was mustered into service at Brattleboro, on October 8, 1862, with nine hundred and fifty-three officers and men, and broke camp on October 11.

The Fourteenth Vermont was recruited in the towns of Bennington, Bristol, Castleton, Danby, Manchester, Middlebury, Rutland, Shoreham, Vergennes and Wallingford. William T. Nichols of Rutland was made Colonel of the regiment. He was a young lawyer who had served in the First Vermont. He was elected a Representative in the Legislature of 1861 and had been reelected in September, 1862, but abandoned civic for military duties. Charles W. Rose of Middlebury, the Lieutenant Colonel, had seen service in the First and the Fifth regiments. Maj. Nathaniel B. Hall of Bennington was State's Attorney of Bennington county, and a son of Ex-Gov. Hiland Hall. On October 21 the

regiment was mustered into service with nine hundred and fifty-two officers and men.

The Fifteenth Vermont comprised companies recruited in Barton, Coventry, Danville, Island Pond, Lyndon, McIndoe Falls, St. Johnsbury, Wait's River, West Fairlee and West Randolph. The Colonel of this regiment, afterward one of Vermont's most distinguished men, was Redfield Proctor, a native of Proctorsville, a village in the town of Cavendish. He had been admitted to the bar and at the outbreak of the war was practicing law in Boston, with his cousin, Judge Isaac F. Redfield. He had entered the service as Quartermaster of the Third Vermont, had served on the staff of Gen. William F. Smith, and later had been appointed Major of the Fifth Vermont. William W. Grout of Barton, later a prominent member of Congress, and a lawyer who had just declined a nomination for State's Attorney of Orleans county, was made Lieutenant Colonel. The Major chosen was Charles F. Spaulding of St. Johnsbury. This regiment also rendezvoused at Brattleboro and was mustered into service, October 22, 1862.

The Sixteenth Vermont comprised companies from Barnard, Bethel, Brattleboro, Chester, Felchville, Ludlow, Springfield, Townshend, Williamsville and Wilmington. The Colonel selected was Wheelock G. Veazey, a young Springfield lawyer, who entered the service as a Captain of the Third Vermont. He had been promoted successively to the positions of Major and Lieutenant Colonel, had served on the staff of Gen. William F. Smith, and had been acting Colonel of the Fifth Vermont. Charles Cummings, editor of the *Brattleboro*

Phoenix and Clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives, was selected as Lieutenant Colonel. He had entered the service as a Lieutenant in the Eleventh Vermont. William Rounds, a Chester lawyer, was made Major of the regiment. The Sixteenth Vermont was mustered into service at Brattleboro on October 23, with nine hundred and forty-nine officers and men.

Toward the end of October, 1862, the five Vermont regiments recruited for nine months, the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth, were organized as the Second Vermont Brigade. Its first commander was Col. A. P. Blunt of the Twelfth regiment. Headquarters were established a few miles south of Washington, at Camp Vermont. The chief duty of the brigade for the remainder of the year was picketing a portion of the defences of Washington. On December 7, E. H. Stoughton, a Vermont officer, was designated as commander of the Second Brigade, having been appointed a Brigadier General. This brigade was ordered to Fairfax Court House to occupy the position vacated by Sigel's corps and moved forward on December 12, marching twenty miles in ten hours over slippery roads. The duties of the Second Vermont Brigade included the picketing of a front of five or six miles along Bull Run, and Cub Run. An attempt on the part of Stuart, the Confederate cavalry leader, to surprise and capture the post at Fairfax Court House, was foiled by the vigilance of the Second Vermont Brigade.

The First Vermont Battery was raised for service in Gen. B. F. Butler's New England division. It was mustered into service February 18, 1862, and left Brattle-

boro with the Eighth Vermont regiment. George W. Duncan, the Captain, had seen service in the Mexican and Seminole Wars. The Second Vermont Battery was also enlisted for General Butler's division, and was mustered into service at Lowell, Mass., December 16, 1861. This was the only Vermont organization which had its rendezvous outside the State. L. R. Sayles of Leicester was chosen Captain, but he resigned before the battery left for the South. Lieut. P. E. Holcomb, a regular army officer, was appointed in his stead. This battery accompanied Farragut on his expedition against New Orleans, and aided in keeping order after that city had been captured. Two sections guarded the United States Mint, and a third was stationed at General Butler's headquarters.

During the first year of the war two regiments of sharpshooters were raised under the authority of the War Department. Of the eighteen companies which comprised these regiments, Vermont furnished more than one-sixth of the total number enrolled, a greater proportion when population is considered, than that of any other State. Company F was organized at West Randolph, September 13, 1861, with Edmund Weston, Jr., of that village as Captain, and was mustered into service at Washington, October 31, 1861. This was one of the first companies of sharpshooters to be raised in the United States. Lieutenant Colonel Mears of the regiment having resigned, Capt. W. Y. W. Ripley of Rutland, who had seen service in the First Vermont, was chosen to succeed him. This company participated in a reconnaissance at Big Bethel and in the Peninsular cam-

paign in Virginia. Members of Company F were among the first Union soldiers to enter Yorktown after its evacuation by the Confederates, and hauled down the garrison flag. This company participated in the operations of 1862 against Richmond. At the battle of Malvern Hill the sharpshooters aided materially in repulsing successive charges of the Confederate troops. During this battle Lieutenant Colonel Ripley was severely wounded. Company E, the second Vermont company of sharpshooters, was recruited at West Randolph and was mustered into service there, November 9, 1861. It left for Washington on November 23, where it became a part of the Second regiment of sharpshooters. Homer R. Stoughton was selected as Captain. Vermont organized two companies for this regiment, the second, Company H, being mustered into service at Brattleboro on the last day of the year, 1861. Gilbert Hart of Dorset was made Captain. This company saw active service in the Virginia campaigns, including the second battle of Bull Run, South Mountain and Fredericksburg.

Vermont regiments had an active part in the campaigns of 1862. The Second Vermont participated in the Peninsular campaign. Under command of Lieutenant Colonel Stannard, the regiment was sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's position near Yorktown, and the Confederate pickets were drawn back a half mile. Lieutenant Colonel Stannard having been appointed Colonel of the Ninth Vermont, Major Joyce was named to succeed him, and Captain Walbridge was chosen Major. A little later Lieutenant Colonel Joyce was compelled to resign and Major Walbridge took his place. A month

later Colonel Whiting resigned and Lieutenant Colonel Walbridge was given command of the regiment. Maj. Newton Stone was made Lieutenant Colonel and Capt. John S. Tyler was appointed Major.

The Third Vermont took part in the Peninsular expedition of 1862, and on April 16, at Lee's Mill, Va., made the first assault of the campaign on the Confederate lines. Four companies of this regiment, led by Capt. Samuel E. Pingree, in one of the most daring exploits of this period of the war, crossed Warwick Creek and captured the enemy's rifle pits. Captain Pingree sustained two serious wounds and was taken to a Philadelphia hospital, where typhoid pneumonia developed, and he narrowly escaped death. The regiment took part in the battles of Williamsburg, Savages' Station, Antietam and Fredericksburg, and performed picket duty before Richmond. After the Seven Days' Retreat, when General Smith's division was paraded at Harrison's Landing, it was found that only one drummer, Willie Johnson of St. Johnsbury, fourteen years old, had brought his drum through this trying experience, and he was granted the honor of drumming for the parade. Later, when General Smith's report reached army headquarters, the boy was called to Washington and received a medal of honor.

Lee's Mill was the first battle in which the Fourth Vermont participated. Four companies of the regiment made an important reconnaisance in the battle of Williamsburg. Lieutenant Colonel Worthen having resigned on account of ill health, Maj. Charles B. Stoughton succeeded him, and Capt. George P. Foster was

Taylor Park, St. Albans

chosen Major. In the storming of Crampton's Gap, on September 14, 1862, the regiment captured a Major, five officers of the line, one hundred and fifteen men and the colors of the Fifteenth Virginia. Colonel Stoughton having been appointed Brigadier General, his brother, Lieut. Col. C. B. Stoughton, succeeded to the command of the regiment. The remaining vacancies were filled by the appointment of Maj. George P. Foster as Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. Samuel E. Pingree as Major. This regiment was employed on the skirmish line in the battle of Fredericksburg and lost eleven men killed and forty-five wounded.

Six companies of the Fifth Vermont, acting as sharpshooters in the battle of Lee's Mill, silenced a gun which commanded a causeway across a creek. The regiment lost in this battle forty-five killed and one hundred and forty-three wounded. Major Proctor resigned in July on account of illness and was succeeded by Capt. John R. Lewis. In September Colonel Smalley was recalled to the Regular Army and Lieutenant Colonel Grant was made Colonel. Major Lewis was promoted to the position of Lieutenant Colonel and Capt. Charles P. Dudley became Major. The regiment took part in the attack on Crampton's Gap and in the battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg.

The Sixth Vermont suffered a loss of thirteen killed and sixty-seven wounded in the battle of Lee's Mill, and fifteen killed and fifty-one wounded in the battle at Savages' Station. The regiment suffered much from illness during a stay of six weeks at Harrison's Landing and the effective force at the end of July did not exceed

two hundred and fifty men. A transfer to Maryland improved health conditions materially. In September, 1862, Lieutenant Colonel Blunt was appointed Colonel of the Twelfth Vermont and he was succeeded by Maj. Oscar S. Tuttle. Capt. E. L. Barney was appointed Major. On December 18, Colonel Lord resigned on account of ill health and Lieutenant Colonel Tuttle was promoted to the command of the regiment. Major Barney succeeded him as Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. Oscar A. Hale was appointed Major.

The First Vermont Brigade saw service long before the end of 1862, which transformed the members of this fighting organization into veteran soldiers. This brigade formed a part of a division commanded by a Vermont officer, Gen. W. F. ("Baldy") Smith. A notable service performed by the Vermont troops was its stand as a rear guard at Savages' Station, while McClellan was withdrawing his army. The Second, Third, Fifth and Sixth Vermont regiments formed General Brooks' battle line. The Fifth Vermont, holding the right of the line, advanced upon the enemy, charged and drove the Confederates into the woods, but was subjected to a murderous fire from a battery and a cross fire of musketry. Probably there were not more than four hundred men of the Fifth Vermont in action that day and the dead and wounded numbered two hundred and six, most of them having been killed during the first half hour of fighting. One of the Surgeons of the Second Vermont, who visited the field next day, said: "Thirty men of the First Vermont were found lying side by side, dressed in as perfect a line as for a dress parade, who were all stricken

down by one discharge of grape and canister from the enemy's battery." Of three commissioned officers and fifty-six men in Company E, only seven men escaped unharmed, and twenty-five were killed or mortally wounded. In that company were five brothers named Cummings from Manchester, a cousin and a brother-in-law. Six members of this family were killed and the survivor was severely wounded. In spite of this awful loss the regiment held its position, silenced the enemy, and did not retire until ordered back several hours later.

Benedict, in his "Vermont in the Civil War," has said that the loss of the Fifth Vermont in this engagement was the greatest ever sustained by a Vermont regiment in action. The loss of the Vermont Brigade in killed, wounded and missing was three hundred and fifty-eight. Benedict says: "Had the Vermont Brigade failed to do its duty, Sedgwick would have been flanked, and probably cut to pieces, and Richardson and Hancock, taken in detail, might have been destroyed or captured. The columns pouring into White Oak Swamp would have been stampeded; White Oak Bridge would have been seized by the enemy; and the story of the grand change of base would in all human probability have had a very different ending."

Gen. W. F. Smith's division fought another rear guard action at White Oak Bridge, holding back the enemy until the greater part of the Union army reached Malvern Hill. Then, withdrawing quietly by a comparatively unused road, discovered by one of General Smith's scouts, the Sixth Corps joined the main body of the army.

Early in November General Smith was promoted to the command of the Sixth Corps, and, General Brooks having been advanced, Colonel Whiting of the Second Vermont succeeded to the command of the Vermont Brigade.

In the spring of 1862 the First Vermont Cavalry was ordered into the Shenandoah valley to aid General Banks in his operations against Stonewall Jackson. On April 5, Colonel Holliday, who had been ill and greatly depressed, committed suicide. At midnight on April 16, Banks moved up the valley in pursuit of Jackson, the Vermont cavalry leading the column. At the village of Mount Jackson the Vermonters were ordered to charge, and obeyed the command with such alacrity that three companies failed to heed the recall and pursued the enemy a mile farther, seizing a bridge, which they held until a company of artillery came up. In this fighting Chaplain Woodward took an active part. Later, while on a reconnaissance, the Chaplain captured two Confederate soldiers. On April 24, Capt. Charles H. Tompkins, a Regular Army officer, was appointed Colonel of the regiment, and Major Bartlett having resigned, he was succeeded by Capt. E. B. Sawyer. On September 9 Colonel Tompkins resigned and he was succeeded by Major Sawyer. Captain Preston was appointed Lieutenant Colonel.

Vermont's service to the Nation was not confined to the battle fields of Virginia and Louisiana, but in Congress her public men ranked among the ablest statesmen of that period. Three members of the powerful Ways and Means Committee were sons of Vermont, Thaddeus

Stevens of Pennsylvania, its chairman, Justin S. Morrill and Valentine B. Horton of Ohio, natives of three adjoining counties, Caledonia, Orange and Windsor. Mr. Morrill stoutly opposed the bill making the treasury demand notes legal tender, declaring that it was "a measure not blessed by one sound precedent and damned by all." This bill had been reported from the Ways and Means Committee by one majority. Mr. Morrill presented a minority report which provided for issuing five hundred million dollars of bonds, two hundred million dollars of them at 7.30 per cent, the rate which the Government was compelled at that time (1862) to pay. In addition, provision was made for issuing one hundred million dollars of treasury notes, due in two years, bearing interest at 3.65 per cent. Rhodes, in his "History of the United States," considers the Morrill bill a more economical measure than the Legal Tender Act, and thinks its passage would have hastened the adoption of a national banking act.

In 1862 the Morrill land grant college bill again was introduced, and, although vigorously opposed, passed the Senate by a vote of 32 to 7. It had been adversely reported in the House, but passed that body by a vote of 90 to 25. On July 2 President Lincoln signed the measure and it became a law. The time when this bill was passed has been called by President Andrew D. White of Cornell University, "the darkest hour since Valley Forge." In discussing the passage of this measure by Congress, President White said: "While the windows of the Senate-house were rattling with the enemy's cannon, those men had such faith in the destiny of the Nation,

and such trust in the arts of peace that they quietly and firmly legislated into being this great, comprehensive system of industrial and scientific education. In all American annals I know of no more noble utterance of faith in national destiny out from the midst of national calamity." President White also compared the enactment of the Morrill Act at this trying time to the conduct of the Romans in buying and selling the lands on which the Carthaginians were encamped after the victory of Cannae. Writing of this bill, he said: "It was one of the most beneficent measures ever proposed in any country," and President White characterized Mr. Morrill as "one of the most useful and far-seeing statesmen our country has known."

Under the provisions of the bill each State, old or new, was granted thirty thousand acres of the public domain for each Senator and Representative in Congress, or land script of the same amount for the purpose of endowing a college of agriculture and mechanic arts in each State. This measure provided not only for agricultural education, but also for scientific and industrial studies and for instruction in military tactics. In an address delivered on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Justin S. Morrill, President Matthew H. Buckham of the University of Vermont declared that under the provisions of this act there had been established sixty-seven institutions of collegiate grade, owning property valued at one hundred and twelve million dollars, with an annual income of eighteen million dollars and an enrollment of five thousand, seven hundred and fifty-five professors and instructors and seventy-three thousand,

eight hundred students. A great measure of constructive statesmanship, one of the landmarks of educational progress in America, was this act, formulated by Justin S. Morrill, which opens the door of opportunity every year to thousands of students.

Many war meetings were held in Vermont during the summer of 1862. A mass convention was called by the Republican State Committee for a Union convention, in which an appeal was made to all freemen in favor of supporting the national administration. A Democrat, S. B. Colby, presided. Governor Holbrook was renominated and Paul Dillingham, who for many years had been a Democratic leader, was nominated as a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Underwood of Burlington having withdrawn his name. At a Democratic State Convention, held at Bellows Falls, resolutions endorsing the policy of the administration were laid on the table, and B. H. Smalley of Swanton was nominated as the party candidate for Governor. Three Vermont newspapers, the *Bellows Falls Argus,* the *Rutland Courier* and the *Woodstock Age,* supported this ticket. Governor Holbrook was reelected, receiving 29,543 votes; 3,772 votes were cast for B. H. Smalley, and there were 77 scattering ballots.

John Gregory Smith of St. Albans was elected Speaker. His father, John Smith, had held the same position from 1831 to 1833.

In his inaugural message Governor Holbrook said: "It is gratifying to realize that at each and every call of our country, in her hour of peril, thousands of the young men of our State have willingly and eagerly seized

arms and have gone or are going forth to battle for the Union, and to drive back the surges of rebellion. Their valor on every field, and in every situation in which they have been placed, rivals that of the early heroes of Vermont, justifies their noble origin, and proves that the race has not degenerated, but now, as of old, is capable of the most heroic and manly deeds, and may be relied upon in every emergency. Any language that I can employ is too feeble to speak their praise; but I may say that it has been demonstrated, and in high quarters admitted, that for steadiness, reliability, courage and endurance, the Vermont troops are not excelled by those of any other State or country."

After recounting the aid of those who had contributed liberally of their means, and the sacrifice, the sympathy and the zeal shown by the women of the State, he added: "Thus will it ever be with Vermont to the end of the war; she will never falter nor look back, but will press forward, until, if need be, her last dollar is expended and her last son falls, upholding in his dying grasp 'the flag of our Union,' and with his latest breath ejaculating a benediction upon his country." The Governor referred to the appointment of John W. Stewart of Middlebury as financial agent of the United States Treasury. Dr. Edward E. Phelps had been appointed State Medical Commissioner to visit the Vermont Brigade and Joseph Poland had been named as special agent to visit the camps of Vermont regiments on the Potomac.

The Legislature repealed some of the objectionable features of the Personal Liberty laws, which had aroused the ire of the slave States, accepted the benefits

of the Morrill Land Grant College Act and revised the law relating to the State coat of arms. A Committee representing the Vermont Historical Society, consisting of Prof. G. W. Benedict of Burlington, Norman Williams of Woodstock and Charles Reed of Montpelier, reported that the devices on the coat of arms and State seal rested wholly upon usage and tradition, and that they had changed with the fancy of every official who had had occasion to procure a new die. As a result of the recommendation by the committee, an act was passed providing that the coat of arms should consist of a green landscape occupying half of the shield; on the right and left in the background, high mountains in blue, against a yellow sky. From a point near the base, and reaching nearly to the top of the shield, arose a pine tree in natural color, between three erect sheaves of yellow grain, "placed bendwise on the dexter side, and a red cow standing on the sinister side of the field." The crest was a buck's head, of natural color, on a blue and yellow scroll. On a scroll beneath the shield was the motto, "Vermont, Freedom and Unity." The Vermonters' badge, two pine branches of natural color, were crossed between the shield and scroll. The act provided that the State seal should include the coat of arms, excluding the crest, scroll and badge, with the motto in a circular border around the same. The law also specified that the State flag should consist of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, the Union to consist of one large star in a blue field, bearing the State coat of arms.

The sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for military expenses. An issue of

bonds was authorized to bear interest at a rate not to exceed six per cent. The Governor was given power to appoint one or more commissioners to visit Vermont soldiers who were sick, to ascertain what was necessary for their comfort and speedy recovery, and to furnish the same at the expense of the State. The Governor was asked to demand a board of inquiry to investigate charges of misconduct made against the Seventh Vermont regiment.

Among the joint resolutions adopted were the following: "Resolved, That we cordially approve of the recent Emancipation Proclamation of the President of the United States, as just in principle and wise in policy as a measure for the suppression of the Rebellion. And that Vermont will cheerfully respond to any call for material and to assist in a vigorous prosecution of the war until the authority of the General Government is fully established throughout the entire country.

"Resolved, That the self-sacrificing patriotism and undaunted bravery of the Vermont soldiers in the volunteer army of the United States, command and receive our highest admiration; that they are justly entitled to our lasting gratitude for what they have already done and suffered in behalf of the country, and that we joyfully anticipate the time when we shall welcome their return to the State whose reputation they have done so much to sustain and exalt." The Secretary of State was directed to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to each Brigadier General commanding Vermont troops with the request that the same be communicated to the soldiers. The thanks of the State were extended

to the people of Philadelphia for "their generous hospitality and kind and brotherly attentions" bestowed upon Vermont soldiers passing through that city.

Senator Foot was reelected without an opposing vote in the Senate. In the House seven scattering votes were cast for four other candidates. Justin S. Morrill and Portus Baxter were reelected as Congressmen. E. P. Walton having declined again to be a candidate, Frederick E. Woodbridge of Vergennes was elected as his successor. Mr. Woodbridge was born at Vergennes, August 29, 1818. He was graduated from the University of Vermont in the class of 1840, studied law, was admitted to the bar and practiced his profession in his home city. He represented Vergennes in the Legislature in 1849, 1857-58 and 1876. He was State Auditor, 1850-53; State's Attorney of Addison county, 1854-59; State Senator, 1860-61 and President Pro Tem during the year last named; and several times Mayor of his city. He served in Congress from 1863 to 1869. In addition to his law practice he was engaged in railroad business. He died at Vergennes, April 26, 1888.

Late in December, 1862, an address to the President was drawn up by Senator Collamer and unanimously agreed to by a secret caucus of Republican Senators, favoring a vigorous prosecution of the war, and declaring that the President should be aided by a Cabinet agreeing with him in political principles and general policy. It had been difficult for both Seward and Chase to realize that President Lincoln was not inferior to them in ability, and both resigned following the adoption of the caucus resolution. Lincoln declined to accept their resigna-

tions, but the incident was a warning to these men of which they took heed. An amendment to the House bill, dealing with suspensions of the writ of habeas corpus, was substantially the work of Senator Collamer. In addition to his duties as one of the leading members of the Ways and Means Committee, Congressman Morrill found time to consider plans for beautifying the national capital. Early in 1863 he introduced a resolution providing that the chamber used as the hall of the House of Representatives before the completion of the Capitol extensions, should be set aside as a Statuary Hall, to which each State should contribute two statues. This resolution was adopted and many statues have been contributed by the various States. It was said at the time that in the Congress ending March 4, 1863, Senator Collamer and Mr. Morrill were among the men who had borne the heaviest burdens.

With the beginning of the year 1863 several changes were made in important army positions. General Hooker was appointed commander of the Army of the Potomac. Gen. W. F. Smith was assigned to command the Ninth Army Corps, and when Colonel Whiting retired, Col. Lewis A. Grant of the Fifth regiment succeeded to the command of the Vermont Brigade. The First Vermont Brigade spent the winter months of 1862-63 in camp near White Oak Church, Va., and when spring came it found the health of the Green Mountain soldiers much improved. Toward the end of April General Hooker began the Chancellorsville campaign. General Sedgwick, commanding the Sixth Corps, was ordered to take Fredericksburg and the heights back of

it which were known as Marye's Hill, Cemetery Hill and Lee's Hill. The enemy's position was one of great natural strength and it had been strongly fortified. For the assault on Marye's Heights, which Burnside had attempted to take several months earlier, with disastrous results, several storming columns were formed. One of these, comprising the Second and Sixth Vermont and the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, was commanded by Col. L. A. Grant, a gallant Vermont officer; while another, made up of the Third and Fourth Vermont and part of the Twenty-first New Jersey, was led by another brave Vermont soldier, Col. T. O. Seaver. The first hill was carried without heavy losses, but the second crest was more stubbornly defended. This was captured, however, with the aid of the Seventh Maine and the Thirty-third New York. Colonel Seaver's column was equally successful, taking Lee's Hill from three Mississippi regiments. The Vermont casualties amounted to one hundred and thirty-two men, and of this number the Second regiment lost one hundred and five, most of them in the attack on the second crest of Marye's Heights. Benedict, in his "Vermont in the Civil War," says: "No similar assault on the Southern side during the war equalled this in brilliancy and success; and in these respects it was surpassed on the Northern side, if at all, only by Lookout Mountain and the final storming of Lee's lines at Petersburg."

General Lee, in turn, decided to attack Sedgwick's exposed position, and ordered General Early to take the height held by the Sixth Corps. The front line was held in part by the Fifth Vermont, two companies of the

Fifth acting as skirmishers. The other regiments of the Vermont Brigade were in the second line. As the enemy advanced, the attacking column bore to the right to strike Neill's Brigade, enabling the Fifth Vermont to pour into the gray ranks a deadly, enfilading fire, slaughtering many of the Confederate troops. As Early's men advanced, with the well known "rebel yell," the Second Vermont rose and poured into the advancing line volley after volley, checking the charging troops. The Third Vermont added its fire and the frontal attack was broken. The Fifth Vermont, having taken a new position, aided in repelling the attack of Hay's Brigade. Early rallied his shattered forces and renewed the assault, but could not penetrate the lines held by the Vermont Brigade. In a readjustment of the Union lines an opening was left into which the Confederate commander attempted to thrust several regiments. The Sixth Vermont, which had been lying on the ground, rose, fired into the advancing Confederate ranks, and charged the enemy, driving them down the hill. In this counter attack the Sixth Vermont captured about two hundred and fifty men, including twenty officers. Sergt. R. J. Coffey of the Fourth Vermont, single handed, captured two Confederate officers and five privates. Although Sedgwick had been eminently successful in repelling Early's attack, his position was perilous and under cover of darkness he fell back, the Vermont Brigade acting as rear guard.

The aggregate losses of the Vermont regiments on May 3 and 4 were twenty-nine killed and two hundred and thirty-two wounded, nineteen dying as a result of

wounds. General Sedgwick praised the steadiness and valor of the Vermont Brigade, and commended Colonel Grant to the special attention of the commanding General.

Early in 1863 Colonel Hyde had resigned the command of the Third Vermont and had been succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Seaver. Maj. S. E. Pingree was appointed Lieutenant Colonel and Capt. Thomas Nelson became Major of the regiment. When Colonel Grant succeeded to the command of the Vermont Brigade, Lieutenant Colonel Lewis became the regimental commander. In January, 1863, General Banks succeeded General Butler in command of the Department of the Gulf and Major Porter of the Seventh Vermont was detailed as Assistant Provost Marshal of New Orleans. On June 19, Colonel Holbrook of the Seventh Vermont was given command of the troops in the Department of West Florida, and removed most of the regiment to Barrancas.

Soon after General Banks assumed command of the Department of the Gulf, General Weitzel was sent to capture a large river steamer, transformed into a floating fortress, which held a position in Bayou Teche. The expedition consisted of a gunboat fleet and about four thousand men, including the Eighth Vermont. This was the first action in which this regiment was under fire, but it acquitted itself well, charging and capturing the rifle pits held by the Eighteenth Louisiana. A Lieutenant and forty-one privates were captured. The Eighth Vermont had advanced farther than the other portion of General Weitzel's command and the

position was precarious, but Colonel Thomas built a long line of camp fires, indicating the presence of at least a brigade. The Confederates were deceived, fired the fortified steamer and prepared to retreat.

General Banks having been called upon to aid General Grant in the siege of Vicksburg, attempted the capture of Port Hudson, one of the Mississippi River towns held by the Confederates. General Weitzel was assigned to the command of a division and Col. Stephen Thomas succeeded as commander of the brigade, of which the Eighth Vermont was a part, with Lieutenant Colonel Dillingham in command of the regiment. A charge was ordered on the Port Hudson works, Colonel Thomas leading his brigade on foot. He advanced farther than the other attacking columns, but the Confederate fire was so intense that Banks abandoned his plan to carry the place by storm. Colonel Thomas, however, fortified his advanced position and held it. In this attack the Eighth Vermont lost eighty-eight men killed and wounded. On June 11, 1863, another attempt was made to take Port Hudson by assault. The Eighth Vermont led the storming column, but the hail of fire was too fierce to be endured, and this attack failed, the Vermont regiment losing ninety-nine men in killed and wounded. Colonel Thomas was unable to participate in this engagement, being seriously ill in a hospital. About this time Capt. H. F. Dutton was promoted to the rank of Major of the Eighth Vermont, succeeding L. M. Grout, resigned. After the surrender of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the Vermont regiment returned to Louisiana.

In March, 1863, Colonel Stannard of the Ninth Vermont was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, and the officers of the regiment presented him with a valuable horse. Lieut. Col. D. K. Andross was made Colonel of the regiment; Maj. E. S. Stowell, Lieutenant Colonel; and Capt. E. H. Ripley, Major. Early in April the Ninth Vermont was ordered to Fortress Monroe, Va. In May Lieutenant Colonel Stowell resigned and was succeeded by Major Ripley. A month later Colonel Andross resigned and Lieutenant Colonel Ripley was promoted to the command of the regiment. He had not reached the age of twenty-three years, and was one of the youngest of the Vermont Colonels. Capt. Valentine G. Barney was made Lieutenant Colonel and Capt. Charles Jarvis became Major. For two months the regiment was stationed at Suffolk, Va., and in June was ordered to Yorktown. Malarial fevers were prevalent and nearly every man of the Ninth Vermont was unfit for duty as a result of contracting the disease. Through the efforts of Senator Foot and Governor Smith the regiment was ordered to Newberne, N. C., and thence transferred to Newport barracks, Colonel Ripley being made commandant of the post. Maj. Charles Jarvis, son of Hon. William ("Consul") Jarvis, was killed in a skirmish and Capt. Amasa Bartlett succeeded him.

On March 9, Gen. E. H. Stoughton, a Vermont officer, was captured at Fairfax Court House, Va., by Captain Mosby of the Confederate army.

When General Lee began his northern invasion in June, 1863, General Sedgwick, of the Union army, was directed to throw a division across the Rappahannock

River, below Fredericksburg, to determine the strength of the enemy at that point. The Fifth Vermont was one of two regiments chosen to cross the river and drive the Confederates from their rifle pits. This task was accomplished and the brigade crossed the river. For thirty-six hours the Vermont Brigade was the only body of Union troops south of the Rappahannock. As a result of Lee's advance into Northern territory, the Army of the Potomac was withdrawn from its Virginia position, and Hooker having resigned, Meade was chosen as his successor.

The battle of Gettysburg began on July 1, with Sedgwick's corps thirty miles away. Much depended on getting this body of troops to the scene of conflict in time to participate in the fighting. It was at this time that Sedgwick gave his famous order, "Put the Vermonters ahead and keep the column well closed up." As the First Vermont Brigade approached the Pennsylvania battle field many wounded soldiers were met, hastening to the rear and telling tales of disaster. It was between five and six o'clock on the afternoon of the second day of July when the Vermont Brigade arrived on the field and halted about a mile in the rear of General Meade's headquarters. They had marched thirty-two miles that day in the scorching heat of midsummer. After a brief rest the brigade was ordered to the front and was given a responsible position on the left flank of the Army of the Potomac.

The Second Vermont Brigade, General Stannard commanding, having marched one hundred and twenty miles in six days, reported to General Reynolds, near Gettys-

burg, and encamped at Emmittsburg on the evening of June 30. On July 1 the Twelfth and Fifteenth Vermont were left to guard the corps trains and the other regiments of the brigade advanced. About noon General Stannard was notified that the First Corps and cavalry were holding back a large force, and Stannard urged his men forward, but it was nearly sunset when Gettysburg was reached. The Vermont Brigadier was appointed general field officer for the left wing of the army for the night of July 1.

During the morning of the second day of the battle of Gettysburg, the Second Vermont Brigade was massed in the rear of Cemetery Hill. Early in the afternoon of July 2, General Stannard was given command of the infantry supporting the batteries on the left of this hill. Two Confederate batteries stationed on a knoll in a wheat field opened fire on General Stannard's position, and several men of the Thirteenth Vermont were wounded. In order to protect the men the members of the three Vermont regiments were moved closer under the hill, where they were sheltered to some extent. As the afternoon waned the report came that General Sickles had been wounded and his lines had been broken. General Hancock had endeavored to prevent the further advance of the enemy. Humphrey's division had been forced back and outflanked. There was great danger that the Union army would be cut in two. At this critical time the Second Vermont Brigade was ordered into action. The advancing Confederates were checked and the Union lines were reestablished on the slope of Cemetery Ridge. The Fourteenth Vermont was the first

regiment to be rushed to the point where the Union lines were broken and supported a battery that had been abandoned. The Sixteenth Vermont performed a similar service, driving back the enemy. At the personal request of General Hancock, Colonel Randall, with the Thirteenth Vermont, drove Georgia troops from a battery that they were trying to capture and advanced the Union lines to the Emmittsburg road. A house on the road, occupied by soldiers of an Alabama regiment, was surrounded and a Captain and eighty men were captured. As the day ended Stannard concentrated his brigade and held the front line on the left center. Colonel Veazey was detailed as division field officer of the day.

The First Vermont Cavalry constituted a part of Gen. E. J. Farnsworth's brigade, and General Kilpatrick's division. On the way to Gettysburg the brigade was attacked by Stuart's Confederate Cavalry at Hanover, Va. The attack was repulsed, the Vermont regiment taking an active part in the fighting. On the second day of the battle the Vermont cavalrymen were used as skirmishers and on the third day they participated in a desperate charge made by Farnsworth's brigade in which the losses were heavy. General Farnsworth and Maj. William Wells led this charge. The Vermonters attacked General Law's brigade of infantry and lost 30 per cent of their numbers. Lieutenant Colonel Preston, in his report, said: "The charge of Wells' battalion upon a brigade of infantry has seldom been excelled in desperation and valor." In this charge General Farnsworth was killed.

The third and decisive day of the great battle, which was to prove the turning point of the war, opened early, and before four o'clock on the morning of July 3, the Confederate skirmishers endeavored without success to force back Colonel Veazey's pickets. The enemy were so active that it was not considered safe to relieve the men of the Sixteenth Vermont from picket duty. During the morning hours the men on the left of the center gathered fence rails and used them in constructing low breastworks which afforded some shelter to soldiers lying prone upon the ground. For two hours, near midday, the two great armies faced each other in silence. Then, at ten minutes past one o'clock, Lee opened upon the Union lines with one hundred and fifty guns arranged in a semi-circle, which made possible a converging fire upon the center of the Northern army. Although Meade had a greater number of guns than his opponent, he lacked points of vantage on which to locate his batteries, and approximately ninety cannon replied to the challenge. For two hours the roar of this tremendous cannonade continued. Soldiers lay flat upon the ground waiting for this iron storm to cease.

Between the hostile lines lay a broad meadow, sloping down from the highlands occupied by the Confederate batteries and then up toward Cemetery Ridge, held by the Union forces. As the artillery fire ceased Lee launched one of the greatest charges known in the history of modern warfare. Pickett's division, Pettigrew's division and half of Pender's division, comprising sixteen thousand or seventeen thousand men, formed in two lines with a front of about one thousand yards and advanced

at quick step. The picket line of the Sixteenth Vermont fell back as the Confederate skirmishers advanced. The enemy's right seemed to be advancing directly upon the position held by the Fourteenth Vermont, but as the Vermonters rose to fire upon the advancing ranks the Confederate forces veered to the north to close a gap which had opened between their right and left wings.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Vermont poured a deadly fire upon the enemy's flank. As the Confederate hosts advanced up the slope uttering the famous "Rebel Yell," Meade's batteries poured a destructive fire into their ranks. Haskell, a native Vermonter, in his valuable work on the Battle of Gettysburg, says of this charge: "More than half a mile their (the Confederate) front extends; more than a thousand yards the dull gray masses deploy, man touching man, rank pressing rank, and line supporting line. The red flags wave, their horsemen gallop up and down; the arms of eighteen thousand men, barrel and bayonet, gleam in the sun, a sloping forest of flashing steel. Right on they move, as with one soul, in perfect order, without impediment of ditch or wall or stream, over ridge and slope, through orchard and meadow and cornfield, magnificent, grim, irresistible." And then, as the front line of the enemy's charging column reached the stone wall in front of General Webb's position, Gen. George J. Stannard, commanding the Second Vermont Brigade, on his own initiative, launched a counter attack upon Pickett's unprotected right flank. First the Thirteenth and then the Sixteenth Vermont opened fire at a distance of about a dozen rods. The enemy could not withstand this flank

attack, but broke and fled in all directions, many coming into the Union lines as prisoners.

Shortly after Pickett's defeat, an Alabama and a Florida brigade advanced on the left of the Union center and this force was attacked by the Sixteenth Vermont, striking the enemy on the flank, defeating the Confederate force and taking many prisoners. In an attempt to cover the enemy's retreat General Stannard was wounded in the leg. Although his wound was very painful he refused to leave the field until his command had been relieved from duty, the wounded of his brigade had been removed, and arrangements had been made for burying the dead.

During the battle, as General Hancock rode along the line to speak to General Stannard, he was wounded, and as he fell from his horse he was caught by Lieuts. George W. Hooker and George G. Benedict of Stannard's staff. As the Thirteenth Vermont moved to attack Pickett's charging host, it turned on Sergt. James B. Scully of Company A, of whom it has been said that he was "the pivot of the pivotal movement of the pivotal battle of the war." There has been some dispute concerning the responsibility for Stannard's attack but Benedict in his "Vermont in the Civil War," after a thorough discussion of the subject, gives the sole credit to General Stannard. In a speech delivered three years later at St. Albans, General Meade said: "At Gettysburg, the decisive battle of the war, there was no individual body of men who rendered greater service at a critical moment than the comparatively raw troops commanded by General Stannard." The *New York Times*

said: "A Vermont brigade held the key of the position at Gettysburg and did more than any other body of men to gain the triumph which decided the fate of the Rebellion."

That Gettysburg was the turning point of the war is generally conceded, and to Stannard's Vermont Brigade came the opportunity to strike the decisive blow that defeated the charge which might otherwise have swept over the Union positions, opening the way for Lee's conquering hosts in an advance northward. This was a deed which Vermont may well remember with pride through all the years of the future.

The casualties of the Second Vermont Brigade in the battle of Gettysburg were as follows: Killed, forty-six; wounded, two hundred and forty; missing, fifty-six. After the battle, General Stannard was removed to a farm house, and on July 5 was taken to Baltimore. The command of the Second Vermont Brigade was assumed temporarily by Colonel Randall.

On the morning of July 4, the First Vermont Cavalry, as a part of General Kilpatrick's force, followed Lee's retreating army, and after a hard night march over muddy roads, captured some prisoners and supplies. The cavalry participated in strenuous contests in the vicinity of Hagerstown. During the Gettysburg campaign the Vermont cavalrymen lost nineteen killed, sixty-three wounded and one hundred and one missing. For a time Colonel Sawyer was in command of a brigade of cavalry. Toward the end of August the Vermont regiment was transferred to General Custer's brigade.

The term for which the Twelfth Vermont was enlisted expired on July 4, and on the following day the regiment left for Baltimore, acting as guard for a large number of prisoners. The field officers and two hundred men of this regiment tendered their services to Governor Holbrook on July 13 to aid in suppressing the draft riots in New York but their presence in that city was not considered necessary. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments formed a part of the army that followed the retreating enemy after the battle of Gettysburg, but skirmishing was the only fighting done by the pursuing Vermonters. As their terms of service expired before the end of July, they were relieved from active duty. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Vermont stopped in New York for a few days and aided in restoring order following the rioting in that city. Five Vermont regiments were mustered out, as follows: The Twelfth, July 14; the Thirteenth, July 21; the Fourteenth, July 30; the fifteenth, August 5; the Sixteenth, August 10.

To the First Vermont Brigade came little opportunity to participate in the Battle of Gettysburg, but as a part of the Sixth Corps it followed Lee's retreating army; and on July 10, at Funkstown, it repulsed repeated attacks by a strong Confederate force. The brigade, Colonel Grant commanding, had occupied a wooded ridge, which the Confederates were determined to capture. The position was about two miles long. At this time Lee expected that the Union army would attack him and the wooded crest held by the Vermont brigade menaced his position. A part of General Hood's divi-

sion attacked the Vermonters three times, and each time the Confederates were repulsed.

During the summer the First Vermont Brigade was ordered to New York to aid in preserving order during the draft. Some of the most courageous and loyal troops in the army were chosen for this service and it was a compliment to the Vermont soldiers that they were called for this task. Early in September, the Second, Third, Fifth and Sixth Regiments were sent, respectively, to Poughkeepsie, Newark and Kingston, where drafts had been ordered. In September the brigades returned to Virginia.

In the early autumn of 1863 the Eighth Vermont participated in General Franklin's unsuccessful expedition against Sabine Pass on the Texas coast. Toward the end of the year Lieutenant Colonel Dillingham of the Eighth Vermont resigned and was succeeded by Maj. H. F. Dutton. Captain Barstow was promoted to the rank of Major. Early in 1863, Colonel Jewett succeeded to the command of the brigade of which the Tenth Vermont was a part, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry was promoted to the command of the regiment. On Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1863, the Tenth Vermont as a part of Morris' Brigade, crossed the Rapidan, and on the following day the regiment charged the enemy and captured the crest of a hill. The losses were 12 killed. 58 wounded and one missing.

Late in December, 1862, the Eleventh Vermont was transformed from an infantry to a heavy artillery regiment, and was stationed in the forts around Washington. Fort Slocum, one of the strongest defences of the

national capital, was constructed largely by the Tenth Vermont, which was said to be the best disciplined regiment defending Washington. Two new companies were added to the regiment in 1863, making a total of twelve.

The First Vermont Cavalry, with Major Wells in command, took a prominent part in an engagement at Culpeper Court House, Va., on September 13, 1863. Led by General Custer, the Vermont regiment, with the Second New York, dashed into Culpeper, and captured three cannon and a few prisoners. The two regiments then charged and dislodged the Confederates, Major Wells being slightly wounded in the engagement. A third charge by the Vermont cavalrymen drove the enemy across the Rapidan. At Brandy Station the regiment participated in a brilliant and successful charge upon Stuart's and Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry corps, extricating General Kilpatrick's division from a critical situation. The regiment took part in much hard fighting and was complimented by General Custer for its efficiency.

The last Vermont infantry regiment raised was the Seventeenth. Recruiting was ordered by General Holbrook, August 3, 1863, but the regiment did not leave the State until April 18, 1864. Col. Francis V. Randall, of the disbanded Thirteenth Vermont, was appointed Colonel; Charles Cummings, formerly Lieutenant Colonel of the Sixteenth Vermont, was chosen for a similar position; and William B. Reynolds, of the Sixth Vermont, was made Major. This regiment became a part of General Burnside's corps. The Third Battery was mustered into service again on January 1, 1864, with

Romeo H. Start of St. Albans as Captain, and was ordered to Washington.

Political duties could not be ignored, even though Vermont with wholehearted devotion was giving her bravest and best to the winning of the war. The call for the Democratic State Convention invited the cooperation of all who believed that the return of the National Government to the control of the Democratic party was "the only hope of a restoration of the Union of Peace and of Liberty and Law in this country." The convention nominated Timothy P. Redfield of Montpelier for Governor and E. H. Chapin of Rutland for Lieutenant Governor. The platform declared that "the political situation of the country is such as to endanger the liberties and fundamental rights of the people. This conduct of the administration of the General Government involves questions of more importance than any questions of party politics, or questions relating to the existing rebellion. They involve the right of the citizens to home, property and personal liberty. The President claims the right arbitrarily, tyrannically and illegally to deprive citizens of these, and the Democratic party of Vermont propose to submit to the American people at the ballot box, the question whether he shall be allowed to do it."

The Union State Convention, called by the Republican State Committee, was held at Burlington. The names of John Gregory Smith of St. Albans and Paul Dillingham of Waterbury were suggested as candidates for the office of Governor. Mr. Smith was nominated by acclamation and Mr. Dillingham, who had withdrawn

his name as a candidate for the first place on the ticket, was nominated for Lieutenant Governor. The platform declared that "Vermont, with all her men and means, will stand by, and uphold, our National Government against all opposers, and through all vicissitudes, in weal and woe, now and forever, as the organized embodiment, truly administered, of the universal, rightful freedom of man. * * * We hail as a consequence of the war, prosecuted to restore the sway of the Constitution, as, under the providence of Almighty God, the prospect which the present wicked rebellion has opened, and which rebels have brought upon themselves, of removing the curse and wrong of slavery, from our otherwise fair and perfect institutions." Senator Collamer delivered a speech urging support for President Lincoln.

Mr. Smith was elected Governor, receiving 29,228 votes. Timothy P. Redfield, the Democratic candidate, received 11,917 votes, and there were 10 scattering ballots. John Gregory Smith, one of the greatest men Vermont has produced, was born at St. Albans, July 22, 1818, being the son of John Smith, a member of Congress and a railway pioneer. He graduated from the University of Vermont in 1841 and later from the Yale Law School. He became associated with his father in his law business and in railroad management. He was a member of the State Senate from Franklin county in 1858 and 1859. In 1860, 1861 and 1862, he represented St. Albans in the Legislature, serving as Speaker in 1862. He took an active part in the special war session, held in April, 1861, and during the regular session was chairman of the Judiciary Committee. In all the work

of raising and equipping troops and preparing the State for participating in the war, John Gregory Smith bore a leading part. He was a natural leader of men, wise in counsel, resourceful in action, and possessing the quality of tact so essential to leadership. He was chairman of the Vermont delegation to the Republican National Conventions of 1872, 1880 and 1884. He organized the Welden National Bank and the People's Trust Company in St. Albans, and was president of both institutions. Elsewhere his relations to the Central Vermont railroad system will be mentioned. Governor Smith was one of the pioneers of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The charter was granted largely through his influence and he was elected its first president. He interested Edgar Thompson and Thomas A. Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad and other capitalists in the enterprise and secured Jay Cooke of Philadelphia as financial agent of the company. The building of the Canada Atlantic Railway was his plan, in which J. R. Booth of Ottawa was associated. Mr. Smith married Ann Eliza Brainerd, a woman of rare ability, the daughter of Hon. Lawrence Brainerd.

The Legislature of 1863 organized by electing as Speaker Abram B. Gardner of Bennington. In his inaugural message Governor Smith declared that the industrial interests of the State were in a prosperous and healthful condition. After referring to its agricultural importance, he called attention to the fact that there was available for an agricultural college in Vermont, one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, having a minimum valuation of one hundred and eighty-

Vermont State House by Moonlight

seven thousand, five hundred dollars, and suggested the advantage of combining the several collegiate institutions of the State.

Referring to the war, the topic first in the thought of the people, he said Vermont had sent into the service sixteen regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, three companies of sharpshooters and two batteries of light artillery, numbering in all 18,224 men. During the year 1863, five regiments of nine-months' men, the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Vermont had been mustered out and there remained in service 7,884 men, and of this number 6,150 were on duty. The quota assessed to Vermont under the draft was 4,715. Of this number only 948 had entered service, or furnished substitutes, while 1,883 had paid commutation. The amount paid into the United States Treasury by citizens of Vermont was about five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. More than two thousand, five hundred sick and wounded Vermont soldiers had been visited in more than one hundred hospitals, while the number transferred to Vermont hospitals was in excess of one thousand.

Attention was called to the need of a revision of the militia law. After recommending the passage of an act permitting Vermont men in service to vote, Governor Smith said: "Ours are no hireling soldiery, who blindly execute the will of superiors, without knowing for what they fight. They have gone from among the sovereign people, intelligent freemen, constituent elements of the government, to contend for a cause in which they have a personal interest, and to maintain

principles which, when the contest is finally closed, will affect them in common with the rest. Let us guard ourselves against the insidious efforts of disloyal men for a dishonorable peace, and firmly resolve to endure to the end, until the last vestige of treason is effaced, and the rightful authority of the Federal arm is fully asserted and willingly confessed throughout each rebellious district and the people thereof brought into complete subordination to its power and rule."

The Legislature passed an act of incorporation to enable the University of Vermont, Middlebury College and Norwich University to unite as the Vermont State University and Associated Colleges, and to appropriate the income made available by the Land Grant College Act. Justin S. Morrill of Strafford, John Gregory Smith of St. Albans, Hiland Hall of Bennington, Frederick Holbrook of Brattleboro, Peter T. Washburn of Woodstock, Pliny H. White of Coventry, Paul Dillingham of Waterbury, Davis Rich of Shoreham and C. A. Thomas of Brandon, were designated as trustees. If all, or two of the corporations mentioned, should unite, the location of the institution should be left to Benjamin R. Curtis of Boston, Edwin D. Morgan of New York and John A. Andrew of Boston.

During this session the Woodstock Railroad Company was incorporated.

A law was passed permitting soldiers to vote at posts or camps. Volunteers for a term of three years were entitled to receive one hundred and twenty-five dollars in lieu of seven dollars per month as State pay. Drafted men were to receive seven dollars per month from the

State. Towns were authorized to raise money for the payment of bounties to drafted men. A resolution was adopted authorizing and requesting the Governor, at as early a day as possible, to take such measures as in his judgment were necessary to provide further and ample accommodations for Vermont's sick and wounded soldiers. Another resolution adopted cordially approved President Lincoln's proclamation calling for three hundred thousand additional volunteers and pledging the State to raise Vermont's quota with the least possible delay.

That there was no weakening in the attitude of the people of the State in support of the Government's war policy, is indicated in the following resolution, adopted during the session of 1863: "Resolved, That Vermont adheres to her often expressed determination to sustain the General Government in putting down the rebellion, be the cost and sacrifice ever so great."

Mr. Morrill of Vermont presided at the Republican Union Congressional caucus to nominate a candidate for Speaker. At the opening of Congress in December, 1863, Senator Collamer was made chairman of the Library Committee and a member of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. Senator Foot was assigned to the Public Lands Committee and was made chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. In the House, Mr. Morrill was given second place on the Ways and Means Committee; Mr. Woodbridge was assigned to the Judiciary Committee and Mr. Baxter was designated as a member of the Elections Committee, and

chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department.

The winter of 1863-64 was spent by the First Vermont Brigade in camp at Brandy Station, Va. Generally speaking the health of the men was good. During this period one thousand and thirty of the men of the brigade, who had served two years or more, enlisted again for three years, or for the war. During the winter the brigade was visited by Governor Smith, Congressman Woodbridge, Hon. George F. Edmunds, and other prominent Vermonters.

The First Vermont Cavalry participated in General Kilpatrick's famous raid on Richmond, which began on February 28, 1864. One hundred men of the regiment commanded by Lieutenants Hall and Williamson, formed a part of Colonel Dahlgren's advance detachment. On the evening of March 1, Kilpatrick arrived at a point only three and one-half miles north of Richmond, and proposed to Lieutenant Colonel Preston that he take his Vermont regiment and a few other picked men, make a dash into Richmond in the early morning hours, and liberate the occupants of Libby Prison. Preston agreed to perform this perilous task, and spent most of the night in making the necessary plans, but Kilpatrick received information concerning the defences of Richmond, which induced him to abandon the attempt to enter the city. Thereupon the raiders moved around the Confederate capital and proceeded to Yorktown, Va. Toward the end of April Colonel Sawyer resigned and Lieutenant Colonel Preston was promoted to the command of the regiment.

In March, 1864, the supreme command of the Union armies was given to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who had captured Vicksburg the preceding summer. The First Vermont Brigade, Gen. L. A. Grant commanding, was a part of General Getty's division. Colonels Walbridge of the Second Vermont and Stoughton of the Fourth Vermont had resigned, and on May 1, 1864, the Vermont regiments of the First brigade were commanded as follows: Second, Col. Newton Stone; Third, Col. T. O. Seaver; Fourth, Col. George P. Foster; Fifth, Lieut. Col. John R. Lewis; Sixth, Col. E. L. Barney.

In the desperate fighting of the Wilderness campaign the First Vermont Brigade had a useful and an honorable part and its losses were very heavy. Few battles have been fought under such peculiar conditions. In order to turn Lee's right, Grant must cross the Rapidan, and thread the roads of a region covered with scrub oaks, dwarf pines and a dense undergrowth of vines and shrubs. The Rapidan was crossed in safety and the Union army entered the Wilderness. Lee's plan was to follow roads which intersected those which Grant's army was following and cut the Union army in two. The strategic points for Grant to hold were the junctions of the Orange turnpike and the Germanna plank road, and the Orange plank road and the Brock road, the latter being the more important. To hold the junction last mentioned, was the task assigned to Getty's division, which included the First Vermont Brigade, the orders being to "hold that point at all hazards until relieved." To be chosen for this post of danger was an honor, indicating as it did, that these were men who could be de-

pended upon to stand fast against great odds. Indeed, it was said afterward by a member of General Getty's staff that the orders received gave specific directions that the Vermont Brigade should be a part of his force.

Getty reached the junction point he had been ordered to hold, about noon of May 5, and he had hardly occupied this post before a Confederate division of Hill's corps advanced toward the same point, driving in the Fifth New York Cavalry. The Vermont Brigade was sent forward toward the enemy's position. The men of the Vermont regiments secured fence rails and logs and utilized them as a somewhat inadequate barricade, although this partial defence afforded a measure of protection by no means to be despised. Hancock had been ordered to unite his forces with Getty, but the denseness of the undergrowth made the movement of troops and artillery exceedingly difficult. For three hours Getty held this position. Grant was anxious to attack before the Confederate forces on the plank road should be strengthened. Therefore Getty was ordered to advance, and the Vermont troops were the first to engage the enemy. Scarcely fifty rods had been covered when a deadly fire opened from the forest cover. The Vermonters returned the fire and dropped to the ground to escape the murderous hail of bullets. Again they advanced, and once more a deadly volley thinned the ranks, compelling the men to drop again to the ground. Neither friend nor foe could advance in the face of such a storm of bullets, but a musketry duel was kept up, cutting off the tops of the undergrowth. The casualties among Vermont officers was very heavy, as their

duties compelled them to move along the lines. Colonel Stone of the Second Vermont, severely wounded and compelled to retire for treatment, returned to his post and was killed. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Tyler, who was mortally wounded an hour later. Colonel Foster of the Fourth Vermont was severely wounded, as was Lieutenant Colonel Lewis, commanding the Fifth Vermont. Colonel Barney of the same regiment received a fatal wound.

For two hours this duel went on until the ammunition of the Vermonters was nearly exhausted, and the brigade was ordered to retire. This was by no means an easy task. It was learned that the enemy's line in front of the Fifth Vermont was not as strong as in other portions and an attempt was made to break through, but the advance covered only a short distance, and the brigade retired to its former position on the Brock Road. Although Getty's division had not broken through the enemy's lines, it had performed the task assigned to it in holding the important junction of roads against a force at least twice as large as its own numbers. In the Vermont Brigade four out of five Colonels and fifty line officers were killed or wounded, and the casualties in the rank and file numbered a thousand men.

Hostilities were renewed at daybreak the following morning, both armies having been reinforced. Getty's, Birney's and Crawford's divisions attacked the Confederate corps commanded by Hill, the Vermont Brigade advancing along the plank road. As a result Hill's lines were broken and his force was driven back in confusion for a mile or more. At this juncture Longstreet arrived

with two fresh divisions of Confederate troops and the Union advance was halted. Burnside's corps was slow in coming to the assistance of Hancock, and Longstreet was enabled to assume the offensive, striking Birney's division on the flank and rear, and driving them back in disorder. The Vermont Brigade held a position on a slight elevation which had been partially fortified by the Confederates with logs and trees. Soon the enemy advanced and were met with a destructive fire from the Vermonters, which threw the Confederates back in confusion. Again and again the enemy advanced to the attack, only to be repulsed each time. On the right and left of the Vermont Brigade the Union lines gradually weakened and it became necessary to retire to the breastworks on the Brock Road. Late in the afternoon the Confederates attacked this line with great vigor but were repulsed. Gen. L. A. Grant in his report of this day's battle said: "Perhaps the valor of Vermont troops and the steadiness and unbroken front of these noble regiments were never more signally displayed. They stood out in the very midst of the enemy; unyieldingly dealing death and slaughter in front and flank. Only the day before one-third of their number and many of their beloved leaders had fallen; but not disheartened the brave men living seemed determined to avenge the fallen, and most effectually they did it."

The Tenth Vermont, Col. W. W. Henry commanding, as a part of Morris' brigade halted the advance of Early's division when two Union brigades had fallen back in disorder.

The Seventeenth Vermont, recently recruited, received its baptism of fire in the Wilderness. Advancing by forced marches, it reached the battlefield on the night of May 5. After a few hours' rest it was ordered to advance soon after midnight and was given the right of the line of Griffin's Brigade. At times the Vermonters were compelled to crawl through the tangled thickets on their hands and knees. They succeeded in driving the enemy from their position and held the ground gained until noon, when the brigade was transferred a mile to the left. Here the regiment participated in a charge made by Griffin's Brigade, and about two hundred prisoners were taken. Later the enemy were reinforced and Griffin was driven back to the line from which he started, where the brigade intrenched and held its position. The casualties of the Seventeenth Vermont were ten killed, sixty-four wounded, ten of whom died later, and six missing.

The First Vermont Cavalry was engaged in a skirmish with Rosser's Confederate Brigade at the beginning of the first day's battle. The casualties were four killed, thirty-one wounded, of whom four died, and fourteen missing. The Third Vermont Battery was engaged in guarding the roads and army trains near the Rapidan River, and did not take part in the battle of the Wilderness. Three companies of Vermont sharpshooters participated in this engagement.

The casualties of the First Vermont Brigade during the battle of the Wilderness were 1,234, the losses being as follows: Killed, 191; wounded, 947; missing, 96. Of the wounded men, 151 died later as victims of this

engagement. The loss of officers was very heavy, 19 being killed, 31 wounded and 2 taken prisoners. Benedict, in his "Vermont in the Civil War," calls attention to the fact that the Army of the Potomac lost 12,485 men in killed and wounded in this battle, and adds: "The Vermont Brigade, being one of thirty-two infantry brigades engaged, suffered one-tenth of the entire loss of Grant's army in killed and wounded in the Wilderness." Had the Vermont troops failed to stand their ground on these two eventful days, it is hardly too much to say that Grant's army might have been defeated if not destroyed in the tangled thickets beyond the Rapidan.

On the night of May 6 Lee withdrew his army behind his intrenched lines, the fact being discovered the next morning by a party of skirmishers commanded by Major Crandall of the Sixth Vermont, and sent out by Gen. L. A. Grant. On the night of May 7 the Army of the Potomac started southward toward Spottsylvania Court House, the Vermont Brigade acting as a rear guard. On the following day Gen. L. A. Grant was ordered to hurry forward with his Vermonters and the brigade was assigned to a position on the extreme left of the Sixth Corps, commanded by General Sedgwick. On May 9 the brigade was engaged in throwing up intrenchments. The Fourth Vermont regiment, on May 10, drove back the Confederate skirmish line and secured information which resulted in an assault on the enemy's lines later in the day. Twelve picked regiments formed the attacking party, and three of them were the Second, Fifth and Sixth Vermont. The first and second lines of defence were captured and nine hundred prisoners were taken;

but the attacking force was not supported properly, and the enemy rallying in large numbers, the Union forces were compelled to retire. Some of the Vermonters held a part of the enemy's works for two hours after their comrades had retired. The Vermont Brigade lost in this assault six killed, sixty-six wounded and sixteen missing. Major Dudley of the Fifth regiment was mortally wounded.

On May 12 occurred one of the most desperate engagements of the war for the possession of what was known as "the Bloody Angle." General Hancock had captured the salient taken and abandoned by Union troops on May 9. As this success meant the piercing of Lee's center, the Confederate commander made a desperate effort to recover the ground lost. The Vermont Brigade constituted a part of the reinforcements sent to Hancock's support and for eight hours these men were engaged in a struggle which is described by Gen. L. A. Grant as follows: "It was literally a hand to hand fight. Nothing but the piled up logs of the breastworks separated the combatants. Our men would reach over the logs and fire into the faces of the enemy, and stab over with their bayonets. Many were shot and stabbed through crevices and holes in the logs. Scores were shot down within a few feet of the death dealing muskets. Men mounted the works and with muskets rapidly handed up, kept up a continuous fire until they were shot down, when others would take their places and continue the deadly work. Some men clubbed their muskets, others used clubs and rails." The trenches were literally filled with dead. Brush and logs were cut into pieces

by the bullets fired, and an oak tree twenty-two inches in diameter was cut down in the same manner. Finally Lee abandoned his efforts to retake the salient and retired to a new line of defences. The loss of the Vermont Brigade in the battle of Spottsylvania was forty-two killed, one hundred and eighty-six wounded and twenty-six missing.

On May 15, the Eleventh Vermont, now a heavy artillery regiment, one thousand, five hundred strong, joined the First Vermont Brigade.

Governor Smith and Surgeon General Thayer went to Fredericksburg, Va., where most of the wounded from the battles of the Wilderness campaign were taken, and gave personal attention to the Vermont soldiers in hospitals. So large was the number of wounded in Vermont regiments that fifteen or twenty of the best surgeons of the State were sent to aid the regular surgical force. As soon as they were able to travel, hundreds of wounded Vermont soldiers were taken to hospitals at Brattleboro, Burlington and Montpelier, where two thousand, five hundred and fifty-one sick and wounded Vermont soldiers were cared for during the year ending September 10, 1864. Governor Holbrook had been active in securing the establishment of hospitals in Vermont.

On the last day of May, 1864, General Sheridan, with a force of cavalry, occupied Cold Harbor, a strategic point where five roads met, leading to the crossings of the Chickahominy River and Richmond. The Sixth Corps, of which the First Vermont Brigade was a part, was ordered to Sheridan's assistance, and arrived with

the Vermonters leading, just in time to relieve the cavalry, which was holding the position against great odds. On the first day of June the Vermont Brigade was assigned to the extreme left of the Union army. Late in the afternoon an assault on the Confederate lines was ordered, the Vermonters holding the front of the line in the second division. A foothold was gained in the Confederate defences but losses of the attacking force were heavy. The Tenth Vermont lost one hundred and eighty killed and wounded, but captured most of the members of the Fifty-first North Carolina regiment. A battalion of the Eleventh Vermont lost thirteen men killed and one hundred and seven wounded. Further attacks were made by the Union forces on June 3. General Stannard, having recovered from his wound received at Gettysburg, had been given command of a brigade of the Eighteenth Corps, and made three desperate charges, but failed to take the enemy's works, owing to the deadly fire of the Confederate batteries. General Stannard was wounded in the thigh, and every member of his personal staff was killed or wounded. Every regimental commander but one, sixty per cent of his line officers, and half the members of his brigade were killed or wounded. The army then threw up intrenchments, the Vermont Brigade holding the front line trenches for ten days.

The Army of the Potomac having failed to gain much ground by a frontal attack, Gen. W. F. Smith, with the Eighteenth Corps, attacked Petersburg and took some of the outer defences. Stannard's Brigade led Martindale's division, losing more than three hundred men in

killed and wounded. While engaged on outpost duty on June 23 a force under Major Fleming was surprised and twenty-six officers and three hundred and seventy-three men of the Fourth and Eleventh Vermont were captured. In this affair of the Weldon Road the Vermont losses were: Killed, thirteen; wounded, forty-five; missing, four hundred and one. More than half the men captured died in Confederate prisons.

The Vermont Brigade was now ordered to Washington for duty under Sheridan in the Shenandoah valley. This valley had been left open by Hunter's withdrawal into western Virginia, and Early took advantage of the opportunity to strike at Washington. The Sixth Corps, including the Vermont Brigade, arrived just in time to protect the national capital. Finding the city so strongly guarded that its capture was improbable, Early withdrew a few miles, but did not return to Richmond. Instead he sent expeditions on roads into Maryland and Pennsylvania. President Lincoln and General Grant determined to put an end to conditions which menaced Washington and its vicinity, and Gen. Philip H. Sheridan was given the command of the Army of the Shenandoah. The First Vermont Brigade, as a part of the Sixth Corps, was assigned to Sheridan's army, which numbered about thirty-six thousand men. With this force the new commander pushed southward, but finding that Early had been reinforced, he withdrew to Charlestown, Va. Here Sheridan was attacked on August 21, and fighting continued during the day, but the enemy were held in check. The losses of the Vermont Brigade that day were twenty-four killed and one hundred

wounded. The Union army withdrew that night to Halltown, five miles distant, and intrenched itself there. Finding Sheridan's position too strong to be captured, Early retired and the Union commander returned to Charlestown.

After three weeks of inaction Sheridan planned to attack Winchester and early on the morning of September 19, crossed Opequon Creek and advanced along the Berryville pike. The battle that followed was hotly contested, and the advantage appeared to rest first with one and then with the other army. Late in the afternoon a charge by Crook drove Early's left wing back in confusion, and Sheridan, mounted on a black horse, dashed into the firing zone and ordered an advance along the whole line. Colonel Thomas of the Eighth Vermont led the Nineteenth Corps in a bayonet charge. The Confederates fled in confusion. In his official report Sheridan said: "We sent them whirling through Winchester." Two thousand prisoners were taken, two hundred of which were captured by the Vermont Brigade. The First Vermont Cavalry took an active part in this battle. In the temporary absence of Gen. L. A. Grant, Colonel Warner commanded the Vermont Brigade. Its losses were twenty-two killed, two hundred and twenty-four wounded and nine missing. This victory was received with great joy in the North. The Confederate invasions of Maryland were ended, and thereafter the lower valley of the Shenandoah remained in the control of the Union armies.

Sheridan did not rest upon his laurels, but pushed on after Early's fleeing troopers. Twenty miles south of

Winchester, in a narrow portion of the valley, rises Fisher's Hill, a position of great natural strength, which had been strongly fortified by Stonewall Jackson. Early strengthened the defences and awaited the advance of the Union army with great confidence, his position being considered impregnable.

The Union army attacked on September 21. Sheridan was anxious to secure control of an eminence known as Flint's Hill, and two unsuccessful attempts were made to capture it. A third charge, made by troops commanded by Col. James W. Warner, a Vermont officer, secured the coveted hill, and won for Warner the rank of Brigadier. General Crook had been sent through the forest, along the mountain side, around the enemy's left and attacked the Confederate left and rear. At the same time Sheridan ordered an attack on Early's left and center. The enemy's lines were broken and the Confederates fled in great confusion. The pursuit continued to Harrisonburg and Mount Crawford. Sheridan then gathered such supplies as could be removed, burned stores that could not be carried away, and moved northward toward his base. It was planned to send most of the Army of the Shenandoah to aid in the operations against Richmond, and the Sixth Corps started for Washington. Early, however, had received reinforcements, and had reoccupied Fisher's Hill. Learning of his movements, Sheridan recalled the Sixth Corps and went into camp at Cedar Creek. On October 16 Sheridan was called to Washington for a conference with Secretary Stanton, leaving General Wright in command. Discipline had been relaxed, as no offensive movement

was expected from the thoroughly beaten Confederate force. Determined to retrieve his reputation, Early planned a surprise attack, and on the night of October 18 started his columns northward. A dense fog on the morning of October 19 aided the Confederate leader in his efforts. The Shenandoah was forded and some of the enemy's troops crept through the Union picket line unobserved.

Suddenly the sleeping soldiers of the Union army were aroused by a volley from the enemy, and before they were fairly awake Early's troops were in the Union camp. Many soldiers were captured in their blankets, while others fled, half clothed, without arms. Colonel Thomas was among the first of the Union officers to get a brigade into line, and he made desperate efforts to hold back Gordon's Confederate division. General Wright vainly endeavored to rally his men but they fell back in great confusion. As the morning advanced Getty's division, of which the Vermont Brigade was a part, checked the Confederates. General Ricketts having been wounded, he was succeeded by General Getty in command of the corps. Gen. L. A. Grant assumed command of the division and Col. A. S. Tracy temporarily was left in charge of the Vermont Brigade. Gradually the Union army was forced back, but the panic of the earlier hours of the morning was checked. Many of the Confederates had left the ranks to plunder the Union camps, and their attack slowed down.

At this juncture occurred one of the most dramatic incidents in American history. General Sheridan, hurrying back from Washington, heard the sound of

artillery. Putting spurs to his Morgan horse, of good Vermont stock, he rode furiously for two hours "from Winchester down to save the day," and he did save it. As he dashed down the line, his horse covered with foam, the Union soldiers greeted him with resounding cheers. Into the hearts of the defeated and discouraged men came hope and confidence. Rapidly Sheridan passed along the lines, with words of cheer, inspiring his troops, and making his plans to attack the enemy. A charge was ordered, and the Confederates fled. The Union camps abandoned in the morning were occupied again. The Confederate retreat became a rout.

General Custer and Colonel Wells, with the First Vermont and the Fifth New York Cavalry, pursued the enemy in the gathering darkness. Pushing beyond the support of other Union regiments, the First Vermont Cavalry was determined to capture some of the Confederate artillery, although its position was a perilous one. How well these soldiers succeeded is shown by the official report which indicates that the Vermont cavalrymen in the battle of Cedar Creek captured one hundred and sixty-one prisoners, three battle flags, twenty-three pieces of artillery, fourteen caissons, seventeen army wagons, ninety-eight horses and sixty-nine mules. The First Vermont and Fifth New York Cavalry captured forty-five of the forty-eight guns taken that day by Sheridan's army. Sheridan is reported to have said of the exploit of the Vermont cavalrymen that no regiment had captured so much since the war began. In this battle the First Vermont Brigade lost thirty killed, two hundred and fourteen wounded and forty-one missing. Among

other officers honored for gallantry in this campaign were Cols. George P. Foster and James W. Warner of Vermont, brevetted as Brigadier Generals. The Eighth, Tenth and Eleventh Vermont had an important part in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek.

Before the Shenandoah campaign the First Vermont Cavalry had taken part in a raid under General Sheridan's leadership. Starting on May 9, the expedition moved past the right of Lee's army and crossed the South Anna River. At Yellow Tavern, six miles north of Richmond, on May 11, Stuart's Confederate Cavalry was engaged. The Vermont cavalrymen and a Michigan regiment charged the enemy, and captured two guns and a number of prisoners. In this engagement General Stuart was mortally wounded. Sheridan then marched around Richmond and on May 24 rejoined the army.

Upon the death of Colonel Preston, who would have been made a Brigadier General had he lived a few days longer, Maj. William Wells succeeded to the command of the First Vermont Cavalry. This regiment participated in Wilson's raid upon some of the railroads near Petersburg. In an engagement with a superior Confederate force under General Hampton, Colonel Wells and a part of his regiment cut their way through a hostile force and rejoined the main body.

In September, 1864, the Ninth Vermont was assigned to the Army of the James. Colonel Ripley took command of a brigade and General Stannard was in charge of the first division of the Eighteenth Corps. An offensive movement was planned, the most important feature of which was the capture of Fort Harrison, a

strong fortification surmounting a hill commanding the approach to Richmond. Generals Stannard and Heckman were chosen to lead the attacking columns. The Ninth Vermont led Heckman's division. Although one-third of the men in the division and half of the storming party were killed or wounded, Stannard and his men charged with such vigor that Fort Harrison was taken. Colonel Ripley's brigade charged and captured Battery Morris. The Ninth Vermont that day lost seven killed, forty-two wounded and thirteen missing. General Lee determined that Fort Harrison must be recaptured and brought ten brigades from the Richmond and Petersburg front for that purpose. Five brigades were formed for the attack under the personal direction of General Lee. Stannard had only infantry for the defence of the fort. About noon, September 30, a Confederate force numbering between six thousand and seven thousand men advanced in three lines against Fort Harrison. Three times the Confederate hosts attacked this fortification, but the musketry fire was so fierce that the enemy could not endure it, and each attempt failed. Once the fort was set on fire, but the blaze was extinguished, the soldiers throwing earth upon the burning logs. Stannard stood upon the parapet, encouraging his men. An Alabama Colonel called to him, saying that General Lee would retake the fort if it took half of his army. The Vermont officer replied that he should be happy to see General Lee whenever the Confederate commander chose to call. At the end of the second assault a bullet struck General Stannard's right arm, shattering the bone, and the news spread that the gallant officer had

lost his life. One-third of the attacking force was killed or wounded.

The Ninth Vermont took part in the battle of Fair Oaks, a demonstration against Richmond, on October 27. Toward the end of the year Col. W. W. Henry of the Tenth Vermont was compelled to resign on account of ill health. A few months later he received the brevet rank of Brigadier General. Capt. George B. Damon, promoted successively to the positions of Major and Lieutenant Colonel, commanded the regiment after Colonel Henry's resignation. Adjt. Wyllys Lyman was promoted to the rank of Major. Colonel Warner of the Eleventh Vermont having been placed in command of the Vermont Brigade, Major Hunsdon was made Lieutenant Colonel and took command of the regiment. For gallant and meritorious service in the Shenandoah valley campaign, Maj. Aldace F. Walker was given the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. James E. Eldridge, the brevet rank of Major.

During the summer of 1863 the Confederate Secretary of War, S. R. Mallory, sent about seventy commissioned and non-commissioned officers to Canada to organize an expedition for the purpose of releasing Confederate prisoners held in the vicinity of Chicago. This plan failed through the vigilance of Union officers. Some Confederate prisoners, however, escaped from time to time, and not a few Southern sympathizers found a refuge in Canada. Niagara was the headquarters for these refugees and Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, under President Buchanan, C. C. Clay, Jr., and George W. Saunders, were designated as the official Con-

federate agents in Canada. Both Secretary Seward and Secretary Stanton were informed of activities across the border and Mr. Seward formally protested to the British Government against a condition of affairs which "would not be neutrality, but would be a permission to the enemies of the United States to make war against them from British shores." Rumors of hostile projects on foot across the international boundary line induced Governor Smith to ask the War Department for five thousand rifled muskets, a large supply of ammunition, and authority to station troops at Burlington, St. Albans and Swanton. General Dix, the commanding officer at New York, sent Colonel Ludlow to Vermont on November 25, 1863, and the latter reported, "All is arranged well." Secretary Seward thereupon reported to Lord Lyons, "In the present peaceful aspect of affairs we shall not make any such military demonstrations, or preparations on the Vermont line, as General Dix suggests. Nor shall I call on Her Majesty's Government for any special attention in that direction."

In the autumn of 1863, according to statements made later in a Canadian court, one Bennett H. Young of Kentucky, a Confederate soldier, and held as a prisoner of war, escaped and made his way to Toronto, where he remained for several months. He attended a course of lectures at the University of Toronto, and left in the spring, having declared his intention to return to Richmond, Va. He was in Halifax in May and it is alleged that he did go to Richmond. Documents have been produced purporting to show that on June 16, 1864, Young was appointed by Secretary of War Seddon a temporary

First Lieutenant in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States for special service. These orders indicate that Lieutenant Young was to report to Messrs. Thompson and Clay for instructions, to organize a company of escaped Confederate soldiers, not exceeding twenty in number, and to execute such enterprises as might be entrusted to them, but to violate no Canadian laws. It is said that Young returned to Toronto in July; that he was in Chicago in August with a considerable number of Confederate soldiers, when an expedition against the United States was organized; that he visited Mr. Clay, a Confederate agent, at St. Catherines, Canada, in September; that he was in Montreal about the first of October, and in St. Johns, Quebec, a little later that month. While in Montreal he received from C. C. Clay, Jr., a memorandum, in part as follows: "Your suggestions for a raid upon accessible towns in Vermont, commencing with St. Albans, is approved, and you are authorized and required to act in conformity with that suggestion." At this time Mr. Clay sent him four hundred dollars to be used in financing his expedition.

On or about October 10, Young, who had made one or two preliminary visits, and two companions arrived at St. Albans and registered at the Tremont House. Two others of the party went the same day to the American House. The next day three others arrived. These men went about the village, learning the habits of the people, the location of the banks, and where horses could be obtained. They visited stores and endeavored to borrow guns for alleged hunting expeditions. The resi-

dence of Governor Smith was visited by Young and he was given the privilege of inspecting the grounds and stables. On the morning of October 18 two more strangers arrived, and at noon four others appeared at the Tremont House. On October 19 five others came to the American House and six appeared at the St. Albans House. Two of these men drove from Burlington, while the others arrived on a train from Montreal.

In addition to Young, the names of the following members of this party were learned when they were arrested, subsequently: Alamanda Pope Bruce, Thomas Bransdon Collins, James Alexander Doty, Samuel Simpson Gregg, Joseph McGrorty, William H. Hutchinson, Samuel Eugene Lackey, Dudley Moore, George Scott, Marcus Spurr, Charles Moore Swager, Squire Turner Teavis and Caleb McDowell Wallace. Most of these men were young Kentuckians under twenty-five years of age. There was nothing unusual in their appearance. Each man, however, carried a leather bag, or side valise, which was fastened over the right shoulder by a leather strap.

These men had learned that Tuesday would not be a favorable day for an attack on St. Albans, as it was market day, when many persons from the surrounding towns would be in the village. Wednesday, usually the dullest day of the week, was chosen as a favorable time for Lieutenant Young's enterprise. On this particular day, October 19, 1864, nearly forty of the leading citizens were out of town, either in attendance upon the legislative session at Montpelier or at a session of Supreme Court at Burlington. It had been planned by

the raiders that when the town clock should strike the hour of three, simultaneous attacks should be made upon the St. Albans, the First National and the Franklin County Banks. This plan was carried out according to schedule.

At the St. Albans Bank, Cyrus N. Bishop, the teller, sat by a window counting and assorting bank notes, when two strangers entered. Mr. Bishop stepped to the desk to wait upon the supposed customers, who drew large revolvers and pointed them at him. Mr. Bishop sprang into the directors' room, where Martin G. Seymour, a clerk, was at work on the books. Bishop and Seymour attempted to close the door, but it was forced open. The raiders then declared that if any resistance were made, or any alarm given, they would blow out the brains of these bank officials. They further declared, when asked what such proceedings meant, that they were Confederate soldiers, detailed from General Early's army, to rob and plunder in retaliation for General Sheridan's acts in the Shenandoah valley. Three other Confederate soldiers then entered. An oath was administered to Bishop and Seymour, by the terms of which they promised not to give an alarm or fire on the raiders.

The bank officials were questioned concerning gold and silver on hand. Bishop told the raiders that the bank had no gold but did have some silver in a safe. He then unlocked the safe and two or three bags of coin, containing about one thousand, four hundred dollars, were brought out. Such a quantity was too heavy to carry and the men filled their pockets, taking about four

hundred dollars. The robbers also took all the bank bills in the safe and a quantity of United States notes, or greenbacks. Samuel Breck, a St. Albans merchant, came to the bank while the raiders were there, bringing three hundred and ninety-three dollars for the payment of a note. He was admitted, his money taken from him, and he was forced into the directors' room. About this time Morris Roach, a young clerk in the employ of Joseph S. Weeks, came in with two hundred and ten dollars to deposit. He was forced to go into the directors' room. Three of the robbers then left the bank and the two others remained only a little longer. These proceedings occupied only about twelve minutes. The amount of money taken was seventy-three thousand, five hundred and twenty-two dollars.

At the First National Bank a stranger entered, and approaching the counter, behind which Albert Sowles, the cashier, was standing, drew a large navy revolver and said: "If you offer any resistance I will shoot you dead. You are my prisoner." Two companions then entered the bank, and going to the safe took out bank bills, bonds, treasury notes and securities, which the robbers thrust into their pockets. While they were filling their pockets one of the raiders said in substance: "We represent the Confederate States of America, and we come here to retaliate for acts committed against our people by General Sherman. It will be of no use to offer any resistance, as there are a hundred soldiers belonging to our party in your village. You have got a very nice village here, and if there is the least resistance to us, or any of our men are shot, we shall burn the village. These are

our orders and each man is sworn to carry them out." The sum of fifty-eight thousand dollars was taken from this bank. Gen. John Nason, nearly ninety years old and very deaf, was the only St. Albans man in the bank, aside from the cashier. Mr. Sowles was taken across the street to the park, where several citizens had been placed under guard. As the prisoner was being taken from the bank, William H. Blaisdell, a merchant, seized the raider who had Mr. Sowles in charge, and threw him from the bank steps to the ground. Two Confederates then hastened to the scene threatening to shoot Blaisdell, whom they conducted to the park.

Marcus W. Beardsley, the cashier, was in the Franklin County Bank when the raiders entered, and Jackson W. Clark, a laborer, and James Saxe were also present. One of the raiders entered and asked the price of gold. He was told that the bank did not deal in it. Just then a business man named Armington entered and made a deposit. As Mr. Armington dealt in gold the stranger was referred to him, and exchanged some gold pieces for greenbacks. As soon as Saxe and Armington had left, the purchaser of the gold drew a navy revolver and two companions came forward. The spokesman for the party said: "We are Confederate soldiers. There are one hundred of us in town. We have come to rob the banks and burn the town and we are going to do it." Clark attempted to escape but was ordered to halt under penalty of death, and was put into the bank vault. The cashier was then directed to bring out first all of the greenbacks in the bank and then all other money on hand. This order having been obeyed, the robbers filled their

pockets and their haversacks with the bank funds. Beardsley was then thrust into the vault, in spite of his protests that it was air tight and he could not live if he was confined there. The iron doors were shut and bolted. Beardsley was very much alarmed as he had heard the threats of the robbers that they would burn the town, and he feared that he and his companion would perish like rats in a trap. About twenty minutes later Beardsley and Clark were released. Approximately the sum of seventy thousand dollars was taken from this bank.

While the banks were being robbed, other members of the raiding party compelled citizens who were on the streets or on the American House veranda, to line up in the park. Guards were stationed to prevent any person from leaving Main Street. Collins H. Huntington, a well known citizen, came along the street, on his way to the Academy to get his children, who were attending school. He was accosted by a stranger, who ordered him to cross the street to the park. Mr. Huntington paid no attention to the order, supposing the man to be intoxicated or insane. This stranger, who was Lieutenant Young, the leader of the band, then fired at Mr. Huntington, inflicting a flesh wound.

Capt. George P. Conger, who had recently returned from the war, was ordered to the park by Young, but he ran into the American House, out of the back door to Lake Street, and gave the alarm. Citizens began to assemble and the raiders seizing horses at Fuller's livery stable, and from persons on the street, started north, attempting to burn the village by throwing Greek fire.

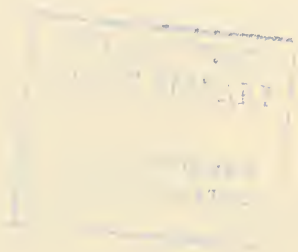
Captain Conger organized a pursuing party, and a running fire was kept up through the village streets. Elias J. Morrison, a contractor from Manchester, N. H., who was engaged in building the Welden House, was mortally wounded by one of the shots, a bullet entering his abdomen. He died three days later, as a result of the wound. It was a peculiar coincidence that the only person killed was a man said to have been in sympathy with the Confederate cause.

Captain Conger and a party of citizens followed the raiders, who took the Sheldon road. It is said that the plan outlined contemplated an attack on the Sheldon Bank, but finding it closed, and knowing that they were pursued, the raiders hastened on. They fired two bridges, but the blaze was extinguished by Captain Conger's party. Their flight was so precipitate that some of the bank notes were dropped by the robbers. The raiders were pursued to the Canadian border and Captain Conger entered Frelighsburg, Que., where he ordered the arrest of every raider that could be found, but the robbers had scattered and none could be located at that time. Captain Newton, in command of a company, took a westerly route to cut off the retreat of the raiders, but without success.

It appears that the raiders at first had planned to set fire to the residence of Gov. John Gregory Smith, and during the confusion that followed to rob the banks, but this plan was abandoned, as it was feared that the banks would be locked in such an event, and it might be impossible to gain entrance. At the time of the raid Governor Smith was attending a legislative session at Mont-

pelier, and all the men employed about his estate were out of town or working at some distance from the house. Soon after the raid began, a servant girl from a neighboring house rushed into the Smith house, exclaiming: "The Rebels are in town robbing the banks, burning the houses and killing the people. They are on their way up the hill intending to burn your house." Such a message might well strike terror to the bravest heart. But Mrs. Smith did not lose her self control. She informed her servants of the peril that threatened them, drew the shades, closed the blinds, and bolted every door but the front entrance. Mrs. Smith's first impulse was to run up the flag, but she decided that such an act might be rash, under the circumstances. She then began a search for weapons, but could find only a large horse pistol without ammunition, and with this in her hand she took her stand in front of the house. Just then a horseman was seen galloping up the hill and it was supposed that this rider was the first of the raiding party. It proved, however, to be Mrs. Smith's brother-in-law, F. Stewart Stranahan, a member of General Custer's staff, who was home on sick leave. He informed her that the raiders had gone and that he had come for arms. She gave him the pistol, saying: "If you come up with them, kill them! Kill them!" Some of the townspeople came for horses and four were furnished. Late that night a guard of soldiers was stationed at the Smith homestead and for nine months thereafter the Governor's premises were guarded day and night. Mrs. Smith was one of the most remarkable women Vermont has produced, courageous in the face of danger, possessed of

Mirror Lake, Calais



great executive ability, a brilliant mind and scholarly attainments. The daughter of one of Vermont's anti-slavery leaders, the wife of one of the ablest railroad presidents of his day and one of the foremost Civil War Governors, the mother of one of the later Green Mountain Executives, she may well be taken as a noble type of Vermont womanhood; and her courage in taking her stand alone, revolver in hand, to defend her home and her children against the expected attack of a band of desperadoes, is an inspiring example of heroism for all future generations.

The telegraph operator at St. Albans sent a message to Governor Smith, at Montpelier, which read: "Southern raiders are in town, robbing banks, shooting citizens and burning houses." The operator then locked his office and hastened away to join the crowd that filled the village streets. Governor Smith had just received information from another source that trouble might be expected from Confederate refugees in Canada, and was in conference with Adjt. Gen. Peter T. Washburn and Hon. John W. Stewart, when the startling message from St. Albans was received. The Governor's first impulse was to start for home immediately, but realizing that a conspiracy might have been formed which would menace the entire northern frontier of Vermont, he decided that his duty to the State must outweigh his anxiety for the safety of his family. Repeated efforts to obtain further information from St. Albans by telegraph elicited no response. Governor Smith was president of the Central Vermont Railroad and his first order was to stop every train on the road and to recall to Montpelier the north

bound train which had recently left. He then made a requisition on the United States hospital at Montpelier for a detachment of soldiers from the veteran invalid corps, under Lieutenant Murphy, and seventy-five men were sent to St. Albans. The next morning two additional companies of invalid veterans arrived in that village, and a home guard of infantry and cavalry was organized, the streets being regularly patrolled. Col. R. C. Benton, formerly of the Eleventh Vermont, was ordered to raise a company and take command of the militia at St. Albans. Louis M. Smith was appointed Captain of the home guard infantry and John W. Newton was made Captain of the local cavalry company. Guards were placed around the State House at Montpelier and the streets were patrolled. Col. Redfield Proctor took charge of the militia at Burlington. Major Austin, Provost General of the State, was ordered to St. Albans from Brattleboro, with two companies of invalid veterans.

A reward of ten thousand dollars for the apprehension of the robbers was offered by the presidents of the St. Albans and First National Banks. A little later the Twenty-sixth New York Cavalry was organized to guard the entire northern frontier. Two Vermont companies were recruited, one of which was commanded by Capt. Josiah Grout. He was soon promoted to the rank of Major and ordered to St. Albans, where he commanded four companies, and was given two field pieces. For several months St. Albans resembled a military camp. Rumors of other raids were frequent and the

principal villages of northern Vermont were guarded during the fall and winter months.

When the news of the St. Albans Raid was received at Burlington, about 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon of the day on which it occurred, there was great excitement, as it was expected that that village would be attacked. It was reported that one of the Lake Champlain steamers had been captured and that a hostile expedition would be sent out against the principal lake ports. Alarm bells were rung, a public meeting was called, speeches were made, two military companies were organized and forty-seven volunteer soldiers were sent to St. Albans on the first train. Congressman F. E. Woodbridge of Vergennes ordered four hundred stands of arms from the arsenal in his home city for use in Burlington. Governor Smith ordered two thousand muskets from the Vergennes arsenal and eighty thousand rounds of ammunition, one thousand muskets being sent to St. Albans and two hundred to Montpelier.

Colonel Proctor reached Burlington at nine o'clock on the evening of October 19. A company from the shops and lumber yards, with a rifled six-pounder, were stationed on the docks, and the bridges were guarded.

President Oscar A. Burton of the Champlain Transportation Company sent a telegram to Rouses Point, N. Y., and learned that the report of the seizure of a steamboat was without foundation, but he took the caution to arm the crews with revolvers and to direct that the boats should anchor some distance out from the wharves, to forestall any attempt at capture by raid-

ers. A guard composed of veterans of the invalid corps was sent on the steamer *United States* going north.

Newport organized a company and Irasburg, Newport, Troy, Barton and Derby Line were guarded at night. General Jackman tendered the services of the Norwich cadets, and they were sent to Newport, where they performed guard duty for a few days. Other companies were organized at Alburg, East Berkshire, West Berkshire, Enosburg Falls, Franklin, Highgate, Richford, Sheldon and Winooski. Maj. J. L. Barstow was sent to St. Johnsbury to cooperate with the Canadian authorities.

Secretary of War Stanton, on the afternoon of October 19, received word that a battle was being fought at Cedar Creek, Va., the result of which, if unfavorable to the Union cause, might imperil Washington. A little later came the news that St. Albans had been seized by Southern refugees, who were killing and burning. Then the telegraph wires ceased working. All night long the Secretary remained on duty. Early the next morning came news of a great Union victory at Cedar Creek, and this was followed immediately by the information that the raiders had fled into Canada from St. Albans and that the town was guarded.

Thirteen of the raiders were arrested in Canada, this number including Alamanda Pope Bruce, Thomas Bransdon Collins, James Alexander Doty, Samuel Simpson Gregg, Joseph McGrorty, William H. Hutchinson, Samuel Eugene Lackey, Dudley Moore, George Scott, Marcus Spurr, Charles Moore Swager, Squire Turner Teavis and Bennett H. Young. Lieutenant Young was

captured by George Beals and E. D. Fuller on Canadian soil, and were turned over to a local bailiff. Bruce and Spurr were arrested at a hotel at Stanbridge; Collins and Lackey at Stanbridge East; and Doty and McGrorty in a barn at Dunham. The prisoners asked that C. C. Clay, the Confederate agent at Montreal, be notified of their arrest. Young and some of his associates boasted that this was but the beginning of a series of attacks that would terrify the people along the northern border. The Canadian authorities were reluctant to aid in prosecuting the raiders and search warrants and warrants for arrest were refused by some of the magistrates.

Secretary of State William H. Seward on October 21 demanded the extradition of the fugitives and the surrender of the money and securities seized, basing his demand upon the provisions of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Lord Monck, the Governor General of Canada, directed Charles J. Coursal, a Police Judge of Montreal, to proceed to Stanbridge, take the prisoners into custody, and try them. By order of Judge Coursal the men arrested were removed to St. Johns and committed to jail. Rumors having been set afloat that plans were being made to kidnap the prisoners and take them into the United States, the raiders were transferred to Montreal, where they were greeted with cheers as they entered the city. A company of artillery escorted the men to the prison, where the prisoners were given apartments which corresponded to rooms in a good hotel, and the food served was of a quality far removed from ordinary prison fare. The money and securities were given into the custody of Chief of Police Lamothe of Montreal.

At the preliminary examination of the raiders, Andrew Tracy of Woodstock, Lucius B. Peck of Montpelier and George F. Edmunds of Burlington, three of Vermont's ablest lawyers, together with Bernard Develin of Montreal, appeared for the United States. E. A. Sowles and H. G. Edson appeared for the St. Albans banks. Messrs. Johnson and Carter appeared for the Crown, and J. J. Abbott, late Solicitor General, William Kerr and Mr. Laflamme were counsel for the prisoners. On October 27, Mr. Kerr applied for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of W. H. Hutchinson, one of the raiders, which was granted. Later this warrant was declared illegal and on November 2 motions were made for a writ of habeas corpus for the St. Albans raiders, confined in Montreal jail. The order of the court was that the defence take nothing by its petition. Meanwhile a warrant was issued by a St. Albans Justice of the Peace, charging the raiders with assaulting the teller of the St. Albans Bank and stealing a sum of money.

The taking of evidence in the case was begun on November 7, and included statements by the prisoners. Lieutenant Young, leader of the expedition, declared that he was a commissioned officer of the Confederate army, and that whatever was done at St. Albans was done by the authority and order of the Confederate Government. He said: "The course I intended to pursue in Vermont, and which I was able to carry out but partially, was to retaliate in some measure for the barbarous atrocities of Grant, Butler, Sherman, Hunter, Milroy, Sheridan, Grierson and other Yankee officers, except that I would scorn to harm women and children under any provoca-

tion, or unarmed, defenceless and unresisting citizens, even Yankees, or to plunder for my own benefit." The American lawyers were debarred from taking an active part in the case, not having been admitted to practice in the Canadian Courts. Mr. Develin and Hon. John Rose acted for the United States Government. The prisoners asked for thirty days in order to secure documentary evidence from the Confederate States and this petition was granted against the strenuous opposition of the counsel for the United States. Two bearers of despatches were sent to Richmond. One was captured by United States troops. The other, although in great peril, at times, succeeded in passing through the lines and, disguised as a priest, returned safely to Canada.

On December 13, before the Vermont attorneys, with a single exception, had returned, Judge Coursal, acting upon a motion made by Mr. Kerr, in behalf of the prisoners, upheld the contention that the warrants on which the prisoners were held were defective. He also discharged them on five other separate offences and warrants on which no hearings had been held, and ordered that the money and securities seized when the prisoners were arrested, should be returned to them. It has been asserted that the Judge's lengthy opinion must have been prepared in advance of the making of Mr. Kerr's motion. The announcement of the discharge of the prisoners was received with tumultuous demonstrations of applause.

In a speech delivered before the Montreal City Council, Mr. Develin, counsel for the United States in the trial of the raiders, called attention to the fact that apparently the prisoners and their friends knew in advance of the

decision that a discharge was to be granted. The Chief of Police had placed the money taken from the prisoners in the most accessible bank. As the last word of Judge Coursal's decision was uttered, Mr. Porterfield, a Confederate agent, left the room hastily, being the first person to leave. In the corridor he met Chief of Police Lamothe, who gave him an order for the removal of the money taken from the raiders. A sleigh in waiting took Mr. Porterfield swiftly to the bank, where the money was delivered to him. The released prisoners with their stolen money hastened to make their escape, while the Chief of Police pondered over the validity of a judicial order for rearrest, thus giving the raiders an opportunity to make their escape.

Messrs. Develin and Rose protested vigorously, but in vain, against the action of the court. In a letter written by Secretary Seward to Hon. Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister to Great Britain, on December 24, 1864, he told of the discharge of the prisoners, the restoration of the stolen money, and added "and thus richly furnished with the spoils of our citizens they were conveyed, amid popular acclamation, in sleighs which had been prepared for their escape, from the court room, beyond the reach of fresh pursuit; when new warrants were issued the police were dilatory and treacherous in their execution. It is impossible to consider those proceedings as either legal, just or friendly towards the United States."

Judge Coursal was accused of complicity with the raiders and was summoned to appear before the Police Committee of the City Council of Montreal. He ad-

mitted that he had been in company with agents of the Confederate Government, but declined to answer questions regarding alleged malfeasance in office. He was suspended and as a result of an investigation it was declared that he was indictable for a "malfeasance in his functions." Chief of Police Lamothe was discharged from office for his conduct in the case. Later Judge Coursal was restored to office by order of the Attorney General, and, subsequently, was several times elected Mayor of Montreal.

The discharge of the prisoners naturally aroused great indignation in the United States. It was reported at the time that when George F. Edmunds was asked if he would return to Montreal to ask for extradition in the event that any of the raiders were recaptured, he replied that if he did it would be at the head of a regiment. On December 14, Gen. John A. Dix, commanding the Department of the East, issued a proclamation, in which he said: "Information having been received at these headquarters that the Rebel marauders who were guilty of murder and robbery at St. Albans, have been discharged from arrest, and that other enterprises are actually in preparation in Canada, the Commanding General deems it due to the people of the frontier towns to adopt the most prompt and efficient measures for the security of their lives and property.

"All military commanders on the frontier are therefore instructed in case further acts of depredation and murder are attempted, whether by marauders or persons acting under commissions from the Rebel authorities at Richmond, to shoot down the depredators, if possible while

in the commission of their crimes, or if it be necessary with a view to their capture, to cross the boundary between the United States and Canada, said commanders are directed to pursue them wherever they may take refuge, and, if captured, they are under no circumstances to be surrendered, but are to be sent to these headquarters for trial and punishment by martial law."

President Lincoln disapproved of General Dix's proclamation and that officer issued another in which he revoked the instructions relative to crossing the boundary line into Canada. The President, however, through Secretary Seward, issued an order directing that no traveller, except immigrants directly entering an American port by sea, should be allowed to enter the United States from a foreign country without a passport.

Several of the influential London newspapers criticised the theory that Lieutenant Young and his associates ought not to be extradited. *The Post,* a Government organ, said: "That these 'raiders' really come within the terms of the extradition treaty, there can, we conceive, be no manner of doubt." *The News* declared: "We are bound to show the example of doing as we would be done by; and as we have in former times uttered keen remonstrances, and even resorted to actual force when an enemy used neutral soil to prepare machinations against us, it is imperative that we should now vindicate our fair dealing and maintain our friendly character by prohibiting absolutely the abuse of our protection for the inhabitants of a bordering and allied State." *The Morning Star* said: "If effective methods are not adopted to compel our neutrality to be respected

by the Confederate refugees, that neutrality will not be respected by the other belligerent; natural irritation will beget exasperation and exasperation will beget war. Such a result will be rather too high a price to pay for the honor of being selected by the Confederate skedaddlers from their own country as the base from which to sally forth upon little robbing expeditions."

Immediately after the discharge of the prisoners by Judge Coursal, Justice James Smith of the Superior Court issued a warrant for the rearrest of the raiders, and five of the thirteen were apprehended near Quebec, the men arrested being Young, Hutchinson, Teavis, Swager and Spurr. The trial was begun at Montreal on December 27 and some of the testimony given in the previous case was repeated. Mr. Bethune, a Montreal lawyer, took the place of Hon. John Rose, whose duties in Parliament prevented further service in court. Another delay of thirty days was asked and granted on January 10, 1865, although the prosecution strenuously opposed the delay. A request for another postponement was denied. The evidence given showed that John G. K. Houghton, a Montreal lawyer, was sent to Washington and endeavored without success to secure a pass permitting him to go to Richmond. He appealed to President Lincoln, who refused the request, saying, "These men are rebels. They go cutting and slashing around, and I do not see that it is any part of my business to help them." It was shown that C. C. Clay, the Confederate Commissioner in Canada, had received from the raiders who were not recaptured their portion of the money taken from the St. Albans banks, that Mr. Clay had ad-

vanced funds for the defence of the prisoners, and had left Canada. S. F. Cameron, a Confederate Chaplain, went to Richmond in the interest of the captured raiders. He called on President Davis and Secretary of State Benjamin and secured certain documents, although other papers had been sent the preceding day by another messenger.

In his decision, announced on March 29, 1865, Justice Smith declared that the attack on St. Albans by Young and his associates "must be regarded as a hostile expedition, undertaken and carried out under the authority of the so-called Confederate States, under the command of one of their officers." Therefore these acts were not to be dealt with under ordinary criminal law. He decided, therefore, that the prisoners could not be extradited, that he had no jurisdiction over them, and that they were entitled to their discharge. This announcement was greeted with loud cheers in the court room, in the lobbies and in the street.

The prisoners immediately were rearrested and were taken to Toronto for trial. The proceedings were very slow and had not been completed when the war ended. No punishment was meted out to the offenders, but the Canadian Government in April, 1865, paid to the First National Bank nineteen thousand dollars; to the St. Albans Bank, twenty thousand dollars in gold; and to the Franklin County Bank, thirty-one thousand dollars in the bills of that bank. In April, 1865, the raiders, so far as known, were indicted for alleged murder, attempted murder and arson, and similar charges were brought against one Hezekiah Payne. A detective

obtained evidence against Payne, showing that he had been implicated in the St. Albans Raid, and he was arrested at Detroit. He was tried in Franklin County Court, but proved that on the morning following the raid he was in Montreal, and was acquitted.

It is not strange that the action of the Canadian courts aroused intense indignation in the United States. Soon after the raiders were freed Congress, influenced apparently by this failure of justice, passed an act abrogating the Canadian reciprocity treaty, and it was proposed to abrogate the treaty concerning disarmament on the lakes. Secretary Seward, however, did not terminate that agreement. Both Canadian and American troops guarded the frontier for many months.

The delegates-at-large to the Republican National Convention of 1864, held at Baltimore, were Senator Solomon Foot, E. P. Walton of Montpelier, A. P. Hunton of Bethel, and Carolus Noyes of Burlington. The district delegates elected were Edwin Hammond of Middlebury, A. B. Gardner of Bennington, Bradley Barlow of St. Albans, Henry Stowell of Cambridge, B. W. Bartholomew of Orange and Horace Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury. Senator Foot's name was considered for president of the convention, but he declined to be a candidate. Vermont's vote was cast for President Lincoln's nomination. At an informal conference it was agreed to support Vice President Hamlin for another term, but as it became apparent that he could not be nominated, the vote was divided, being cast as follows: Andrew Johnson, 5; Hannibal Hamlin, 2; B. F. Butler, 2; D. S. Dickinson, 1. The vote was changed, before it

was announced, so that Vermont's entire strength went to Johnson. It had been suggested that a complimentary vote for Vice President be cast for Senator Foot, but the Senator, while appreciating the compliment, declined to be a candidate, and advised that a War Democrat should be supported.

At a Union State Convention, Governor Smith and Lieutenant Governor Dillingham were renominated. The platform contained the following plank relating to the war: "Resolved, That with a full appreciation of the cost, the sacrifices and the unutterable horrors of this war, we yet accept it as one of the terrible necessities which the providence of God, through the mad ambition of slave holders and their advocates had imposed upon the Nation, for its discipline and for its purification, by the utter extinction of human slavery and serfdom—a necessity to be met heroically, to be borne patiently; a contest never to cease until equal, impartial liberty shall be proclaimed 'throughout the whole land, to all the inhabitants thereof,' and the whole Nation be restored again to union, and shall attain a better liberty under a free Constitution, and the protecting folds of the one free flag." Confidence was expressed in "the sterling honesty and common sense, the sagacity, the statesmanlike ability and devoted patriotism of our President, Abraham Lincoln."

The Democratic State Convention nominated Timothy P. Redfield of Montpelier for Governor, and protested against "the usurpation and lawless despotism for vindictive party ends of this administration." It added: "It has trampled down the organic law of a Nation that

it may instal a military despotism upon the ruins of constitutional liberty. It has waged a bloody war for the avowed purpose of extirpating eight millions of people from the home of their ancestors and blotting from the American Constitution one-half of the States of the Union."

The Vermont delegates to the Democratic National Convention, held at Chicago, were H. B. Smith of Milton, L. S. Partridge of Norwich, John Cain of Rutland, Timothy P. Redfield of Montpelier, Isaac McDaniels of Rutland, A. M. Huling of Bennington, Asa M. Dickey of Bradford, George Washburn of Springfield, B. H. Smalley of Swanton and R. G. Hopkinson of Derby. Each delegate had half a vote. For President, Vermont cast four votes for Gen. George B. McClellan, and one for Thomas H. Seymour of Connecticut; for Vice President, four and one-half votes for James Guthrie of Kentucky and one-half a vote for L. W. Powell of Kentucky.

Governor Smith was reelected, receiving 32,052 votes. For Timothy P. Redfield (Dem.), 12,637 votes were cast, and there were 113 scattering ballots. George F. Edmunds had declined to be a candidate for Congress in the Third district, and the three Congressmen, Messrs. Morrill, Woodbridge and Baxter, were reelected.

The result of the Presidential vote by counties was as follows:

	Lincoln	*McClellan*
Addison	3,567	344
Bennington	2,333	1,021
Caledonia	2,731	1,115
Chittenden	3,227	923

Essex	613	385
Franklin	2,689	1,156
Grand Isle	370	168
Lamoille	1,760	531
Orange	3,365	1,701
Orleans	2,703	626
Rutland	4,799	1,247
Washington	3,633	1,552
Windham	4,183	1,232
Windsor	6,446	1,320
Total	42,419	13,321

The Presidential Electors chosen were Daniel Kellogg of Brattleboro, Albert L. Catlin of Orwell, Seneca M. Dorr of Rutland, Ryland Fletcher of Cavendish and James W. Simpson of Craftsbury. The vote of Vermont was cast for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.

Abram B. Gardner of Bennington was reelected Speaker. In his annual message Governor Smith recapitulated the military activities of the State. John Howe, Jr., of Brandon had been appointed agent to furnish the necessary aid to the families of soldiers. The quota of Vermont under the President's call for three hundred thousand men for three years, issued October 14, 1863, was 3,336 men. The work of recruiting was retarded at first because the Government did not recognize towns as sub-districts, but finally an order was obtained permitting such designation. The quota was obtained on time January 5, 1864, and on February 1 there were 1,621 men to the credit of the State, as a sur-

plus over all calls. Following the President's call of July 14 there was a surplus of 2,201 men. The last call was for five hundred thousand men, and Vermont's quota was 5,156. Fifty days were allowed and the State responded with such promptness that on October 1 there was a surplus of 1,014 men. The total number of men furnished to date, said the Governor, was 32,710. The number in service, October 1, 1864, was approximately 12,250 men.

Since October 1, 1863, there had been in hospitals 4,216 Vermont patients, of which number 2,412 were at Brattleboro, 933 at Burlington and 871 at Montpelier. There remained in hospitals on October 1, 1864, 1,304 Vermont men.

A general militia act was passed, also an act to prevent raids. For attempting a raid with force and violence by three or more persons, the death penalty was provided. A conspiracy by three or more persons was to be punished by not more than twenty years in the State Prison and a fine not to exceed ten thousand dollars.

The thanks of the citizens of Vermont were tendered to Governor Smith and the Vermont delegation in Congress "for their prompt and personal attention to our sick and wounded soldiers by administering to their wants and procuring their transportation to their native State." A resolution was adopted joyfully recognizing in the result of the fall elections "a sure indication of a persistent determination to unite in one grand unyielding purpose to prosecute the war until the atrocious, barbarous rebellion against the National Government, the

Constitution of our glorious Union, is crushed, and the last vestige of treason and secession is wiped out from the face of the Republic."

An act was passed establishing the Vermont Agricultural College and repealing the act incorporating the Vermont State University and Associate Colleges. An act was also passed incorporating the city of Burlington.

A special session of the Vermont Legislature was called for March 9, 1865, to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, abolishing slavery. To the formal resolution of ratification were added these words: "Therefore, with gratitude to Almighty God for the privilege, and with devout confidence in the ultimate and speedy consummation of this great measure of national justice and policy," etc.

Looking back over nearly half a century of effort in the anti-slavery cause, Vermont might well thank God for a victory in which her leaders had fought a good fight and had kept the faith. In the House, two votes were cast against ratification, one being recorded as a protest against the method of ratification and not the matter of the resolution. Fifteen members were absent and five did not vote. The resolution was adopted unanimously in the Senate. Four Senators were absent, one being out of the State and three being detained at home by illness. A salute of one hundred guns was fired at Montpelier in honor of the ratification of the amendment by Vermont.

Cabinet gossip, in the spring of 1865, mentioned the name of Justin S. Morrill as a possible Secretary of the Treasury.

With the opening of the year 1865, it became evident that the war was drawing to a close. General Sheridan opened the spring campaign with a raid on the Virginia Central Railroad, and Col. William Wells' brigade led the column to Staunton on February 27. Custer attacked Early at Waynesboro on March 2, the Vermonters being thrown forward as a skirmish line. Later the regiment, after marching through swampy fields, charged the enemy, hundreds of whom surrendered. On March 25 the Second Vermont aided in a charge on, and the capture of, an entrenched picket line in front of Fort Fisher, on the Petersburg line. Several hundred prisoners were captured by the Vermont troops. In the final assault on the Petersburg lines, General Wright selected General Getty's division for this task and the honor of leading the column was given to the Vermont Brigade. The point of attack was selected by Gen. L. A. Grant. In the early dawn of April 2, 1865, the assault was made, the Vermonters driving the enemy in confusion. It is claimed that Capt. Charles G. Gould of the Fifth Vermont was the first man to enter the Confederate works. The losses of the brigade were twenty-five killed and one hundred and sixty-one wounded.

In the battle of Five Forks, one of the last engagements of the Civil War, Colonel Wells of the First Vermont Cavalry led a charge. Several bullets passed through his clothing and he was struck in the chest by a fragment of shell. During the Confederate retreat the Vermont cavalrymen attacked the rear guard of the enemy commanded by Fitzhugh Lee, and took many

prisoners. On the morning of April 7, the First Vermont Cavalry captured eight guns. At Appomattox Court House Custer brought forward his division to meet a Confederate attack, Wells' brigade leading, with the First Vermont Cavalry in front. The cavalry regiments were withdrawn, revealing masses of infantry. In this manoeuvre the Vermonters moved across the enemy's front, under fire of two batteries, as though on dress parade. As the cavalry withdrew, General Custer observed Lee's supply trains, in evident confusion, and ordered Lieutenant Colonel Hall of the Vermont Cavalry to charge. The regiment had started, when the soldiers were halted by a message announcing Lee's surrender.

On the night when Richmond was evacuated the picket line nearest to the Confederate capital was held by a detail of one hundred and twenty men of the Ninth Vermont and fifty men of the Twelfth New Hampshire, commanded by Capt. A. E. Leavenworth. Lieuts. Joel C. Baker and Burnham Cowdry were with him. In the early hours of the morning, explosions were heard, and before daylight a deserter brought the news that the Confederates were abandoning the defences of Richmond. General Devens was informed of this fact and ordered Captain Leavenworth to move forward at daybreak. This order was obeyed. The Vermonters had halted for a hasty breakfast when General Draper, with a detachment of colored troops, came down the turnpike. The Vermonters did not propose to be deprived of the honor of being the first troops to enter Richmond. Although they had been on picket duty for twenty-four

hours, and each man carried forty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations, they started on a run, leaving their food, and soon passed the colored soldiers. General Draper ordered them to stop, but they pressed forward, eager to be the first to reach the goal sought by the Union soldiers for four long and troubled years. A graphic description of the scene is given by Benedict, in his "Vermont in the Civil War," in which he says: "As the skirmishers entered the city, a small national flag, which had been kept concealed for years in waiting for this hour, was thrust out of a window and waved in welcome to the Army of the Union. It was snatched by Captain Leavenworth, and held aloft. The effect was electrical. Each breathless and limping veteran became a leaping and shouting hero; and so, with the Stars and Stripes borne in front of them in triumph, cheered by the loyal blacks, who thronged around the flag bearer and kissed the national emblem, and cheering as became the first Union infantry to bear the national colors into the capital of the Confederacy, the Vermonters passed on to Church Hill."

To Gen. E. H. Ripley, a Vermont officer, was given the honor of commanding the forces that occupied Richmond. General Ripley has described the formal entry into the burning capital, the flames from the arsenal and warehouses fired by the departing Confederates having spread to other portions of the city. He says: "The air was darkened by the thick tempest of black smoke and cinders, which swept through the streets, and as we penetrated deeper into the city the bands were almost drowned by the crashing of buildings, the roar of the

flames and the terrific explosions of shells in the burning warehouses. Densely packed on either side of the street were thousands upon thousands of blacks, till that moment slaves, down upon their knees, throwing their hands wildly in the air, while floods of tears poured down their wild faces, and shouting, 'Glory to God! Glory to God! the Day of Jubilee hab come! Massa Linkum am here! Massa Linkum am here!' They threw themselves on their faces almost under the horses' feet to pray and give thanks in the wild delirium of their sudden deliverance."

General Ripley at once stopped the pillaging that was going on, checked the flames, protected property, fed the hungry, and brought order out of confusion.

There was great joy in Vermont over the news of the fall of Richmond. At Montpelier one hundred guns were fired and speeches were made from the Court House steps by Gen. Stephen Thomas, Adjt. Gen. Peter T. Washburn and others. Elsewhere bells were rung, flags displayed, and bonfires lighted. These demonstrations were repeated when the news came of Lee's surrender to Grant. The *Watchman* of April 8 said: "The people of Montpelier are in an ecstacy of joy—business suspended, stores, shops and corner groceries closed, bells ringing, bunting flying and cannon roaring. Everybody screams at everybody; everybody laughs with everybody; everybody cheers with everybody."

The joy was soon turned to mourning when President Lincoln was assassinated. At Montpelier the bells were tolled for an hour, flags were placed at half mast, places of business were closed, and public and private build-

ings were draped in mourning. Memorial services were held throughout the State, and everywhere the grief of the people was manifested. When the announcement was received that J. Wilkes Booth, the President's assassin has been shot, the bells of Montpelier were rung.

Following Lee's surrender, the First Vermont Brigade, as a part of the famous Sixth Corps, was sent southward to cut off the escape of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who was hard pressed by General Sherman's army. The duty of the brigade for a month was to guard the railroad between Richmond and Greensboro. Returning to Richmond, the brigade left for Washington on May 24, marching by easy stages. The First Vermont Cavalry participated in the grand review of the Army of the Potomac on May 23, 1865, but the First Vermont Brigade did not arrive in Washington in time to participate. A special review was given by the President on June 8. On June 7 the Vermont troops, nearly six thousand in number, were reviewed by Governor Smith. Each Vermonter wore in his cap an evergreen sprig, the badge so often worn by the Green Mountain Boys and their descendants. At the close of the review Governor Smith and his guests were entertained by General Grant.

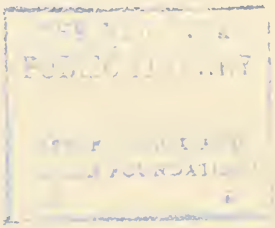
The Seventh Vermont remained in service longer than the other regiments from the Green Mountain State. On February 19, 1865, it was ordered to join General Canby's expedition against Mobile. Here the regiment took part in the difficult operations against this strongly fortified post, the last important position held by the Confederates. The Seventh Vermont was one of the

regiments selected by General Weitzel for the Army of Observation, stationed on the Rio Grande to await developments in Mexico, where an attempt had been made to establish an Empire under French protection. The regiment was finally mustered out at Brownsville, Texas, March 14, 1866.

The returning Vermont regiments were welcomed with demonstrations of joy. There were salutes, speeches, dinners and all the manifestations by which a grateful people could show their appreciation of the heroic service rendered by these brave veterans.

On May 19, 1865, Col. William Wells of the First Vermont Cavalry, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, a brevet appointment having been made on February 22, of the same year. On March 13, he had been appointed brevet Major General of volunteers. When Generals Sheridan and Custer were ordered to the Mexican border, General Wells became commander of the Cavalry Corps. He was awarded a medal of honor for gallantry in the battle of Gettysburg. Sheridan said of him: "He was my ideal of a cavalry officer." General Wells was mustered out January 15, 1866, having participated in seventy cavalry engagements. Later he was a member of both branches of the Legislature, was appointed Collector of Customs and became a prominent Burlington manufacturer. Equestrian statues of General Wells have been erected on the battlefield of Gettysburg and in Battery Park at Burlington. A medallion portrait of this gallant officer adorns the State House at Montpelier. He died April 29, 1892.

Drive Along Malletts Bay



Gen. George J. Stannard was appointed Collector of Customs soon after the Civil War ended. In later years he was appointed a doorkeeper in Congress. A statue of General Stannard has been erected in Lake View Cemetery in Burlington.

Several native Vermonters not in the service of the State achieved distinction during the war.

Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a grandson of Ethan Allen, who had resigned from the army as a result of a quarrel between General Scott and Jefferson Davis, was offered the rank of Major General at the outbreak of the Civil War but declined on account of ill health. He was summoned to Washington by Secretary Stanton and was offered the command of the Army of the Potomac to succeed General McClellan. This he could not accept, but became military adviser to the President with the rank of Major General.

Lieut. Col. Albert V. Colburn was General McClellan's Assistant Adjutant General. Brevet Brig. Gen. O. E. Babcock was Inspector General of the Sixth Corps and a trusted aide on General Grant's staff. Lieut. Col. Edward R. Platt was Judge Advocate of the Army of the Potomac under Generals Hooker and Meade.

Col. Perley P. Pitkin held the very responsible position of Assistant Quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac. Maj. Gardner S. Blodgett was Chief Depot Quartermaster at Annapolis, Md., and had charge of a great parole camp. Gen. Asa P. Blunt was Chief Quartermaster of the Department of the Potomac. Maj. Gen. Israel B. Richardson commanded the First Division of the Second Army Corps, and was killed at Antietam.

Maj. Gen. William F. Smith commanded the Sixth Corps and later the Eighteenth Corps. Maj. Gen. George C. Strong commanded the storming column at Fort Wagner and was killed in the engagement. Maj. Gen. T. E. G. Ransom commanded the Thirteenth Corps in the Red River campaign, the Sixteenth Corps in the Atlantic campaign and the Seventeenth Corps in Sherman's march to the sea. He died during the campaign last mentioned. Maj. Gen. William B. Hazen commanded the Second Division of the Fifteenth Corps in the Atlanta campaign and led a successful attack on Fort McAllister.

Vermont furnished six hundred and nineteen men to the Navy and Marine Corps during the Civil War. Among the Vermonters who attained high naval rank were Commodores John H. Graham, Simon B. Bissell and George F. Emmons, and Capts. Theodore P. Greene, George M. Colvocoresses and William G. Temple.

In his retiring message Governor Smith presented a statement of Vermont's record during the war which is, indeed, a notable one. Tabulated, it is as follows:

Number of three-months' men	782
Number of nine-months' men	4,833
Number enlisted for one year	2,747
Number enlisted for two years	29
Number enlisted for three years	22,352
Number enlisted for four years	12
Drafted and held to service under draft of 1863	2,825

Drafted and held to service in deficient sub-districts from January 1, 1864, to September 30, 1865	159
Substitutes for enrolled men liable to draft	816
Total number of men furnished by Vermont	34,555

A final revision by the Adjutant General gave the number as 34,328.

This number was equal to one in every nine and a fraction of the entire population of the State and one in every four and a fraction of the entire male population of Vermont.

The amount expended by and due from the State for war purposes was stated by Governor Smith to be substantially as follows:

General military expenses	$1,180,000.00
Extra pay to soldiers	3,394,000.00
Direct tax to United States	179,407.80
Interest on debt over premium and interest received on bonds	320,000.00
Total	$5,073,407.80
To this may be added the sums paid by towns as bounties to soldiers, amounting at least to	$4,250,000.00
This makes a total contribution from Vermont during the civil War of	$9,323,407.80

During the four-year period of the war John Howe, Jr., for the State of Vermont, disbursed $73,542.50 as aid to the families of soldiers.

Statistics compiled by the Adjutant General's office at Washington show that deaths among Vermont troops exceeded those of any other Northern State except Michigan. Adding to the killed those who died of wounds, Vermont's losses were greater than those of any other State except New Hampshire. Of the two brigades in the Union Army that lost the largest number of men killed and mortally wounded, one was the First Vermont Brigade. Of fifty-four Northern regiments losing more than two hundred men killed in action, four were from Vermont. The number of Vermonters killed in action was 1,071 and the number of deaths from all causes was 5,128. The total number wounded was 4,360 and the number mustered out of service was 15,239.

Of all the conflicts in which Vermonters have participated, the Civil War took the heaviest toll. Every hamlet had been stricken and there was hardly a family which had not been bereaved by the loss of a relative. Vermont had done its full duty in preserving the Union. The soldiers of the Green Mountain State had won a nation-wide reputation for their fighting qualities, and the record they made is a priceless heritage of valor, to be cherished by their children and their children's children, to the remotest generation.